

THE EGYPTIAN TEXT OF THE FOUR GOSPELS
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DURING recent years the trend of New Testament textual studies has been toward the identification and establishment of local texts. If these be old, they serve as witnesses to the original text, if late, they are helpful in showing the trends of textual development and add to our knowledge of the history of the Church. We are far removed from the New Testament studies and problems of 1898, when Grenfell and Hunt published the first papyrus fragment of the New Testament, Oxyrhynchus 2, containing Matthew 1, 1-20. Then Burkitt acclaimed it a "voice from the dead" confirming the Westcott and Hort text. His chief error lay in assuming that any one fragment two centuries later than the origin of the New Testament could give decisive evidence on the original text. Yet this important consideration was hardly mentioned in the discussion that followed. Weight was laid rather on the indefiniteness of the evidence and the unreliability of the papyri. On the first of these points Hoskier (Codex B and its Allies, I, ix) spoke the last word, showing that of the 19 variants noted in the text of this short fragment 13 are mere spellings of proper names, eight of which agree with the Westcott and Hort text against the Received Text; but if only the six variants which affect whole words are considered, the fragment agrees with the Westcott and Hort text twice and with Received Text twice, while in the other two cases it departs from both. Thus Hoskier, who also failed to consider the question in its broadest aspects. The result has been to discredit the papyri, and to ignore them where they can give us most help, namely concerning the New Testament texts that circulated in Egypt. In fact, if we com-

¹ This paper covers a part of the material used in the Charles Eliot Norton lectures of the Archaeological Institute of America delivered in 1932.

bine the parchment fragments with them, we have a unique opportunity of tracing the development of the New Testament text of a province through a period of some six centuries.

Now that over 130 New Testament fragments on papyrus and parchment and dating from the third to the tenth century have been found in Egypt, we ought no longer to overlook so important a type of testimony. Naturally such fragmentary evidence is often indecisive, sometimes wrongly dated, and always capable of misinterpretation, but now that the number of existing fragments is so great, individual errors can be eliminated or discounted, and this mass of material remains as the best and most extensive evidence on the texts that once circulated in ancient Egypt. Not even the Egyptian church fathers can be given precedence over the papyri, for their texts are not free from the possibility of later changes, and the quoted fragments have the further disadvantage that they are often well-known sayings, which might be quoted from memory. The evidence of all these fragments must eventually be considered, but in this paper I am confining my attention to the four gospels and Acts, because the most important ancient texts are better differentiated in these books. Here both the Antiochian and the Alexandrian (termed Neutral or Hesychian by others) are in general well defined. There is extensive evidence also for the so-called Western text, though in many passages different varieties of that text must be assumed. The Caesarean text is not so well defined, yet as far as possible I have tried to establish the presence or absence of Caesarean readings in the fragments discussed. In the four gospels the results were sufficiently consistent to warrant consideration, but in the case of the fragments from Acts little more than inferences, on which no great reliance should be placed, could be drawn regarding Caesarean readings.

In the following discussion I shall classify the various New Testament fragments under the centuries to which they have been assigned by the scholars who published them. They have presumably been dated mostly on the basis of the style of writing, so that allowance should be made for some cases of error. These will not be found to be numerous. The most im-

portant distinction in dates is that between the third century and the fourth, because the so-called Alexandrian text is supposed to have arisen at about that time. It is of the highest importance to discover when and to what extent this text appears in the papyri, and accordingly a special class has been made of those papyri dated as late third or early fourth century. In the later fragments no such need exists, and those dated fourth or fifth century will be treated under the fourth, those dated fifth or sixth under the fifth century. Each of the gospels and the Acts will be taken up separately and the fragments with their textual affiliations listed by centuries in a table. Each group will be followed by a brief discussion. At the close the data will be assembled in another table and the problem discussed as a whole. I consider 76 fragments, 27 on papyri, 48 on parchment, and one ostrakon.

MATTHEW

The table is almost self-explanatory. We may, however, add that the category termed 'special' covers readings for which no other support has been found. Slight variations in spelling, such as itacisms, have been ignored. Neither have I included readings supported by all the main texts, though individual mss. are opposed. Under Egyptian, I have classified a few readings supported by one ms. of Egyptian origin, while the Alexandrian text is plainly opposed.

Under the third century I have placed Oxy. Pap. 655, which was published as a fragment of a lost gospel. Osborn (*Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXII, 1931, p. 179) identified a part of it as Matthew 10, 16. It may be only a quotation, and the fragment as a whole may belong to some lost homily or letter. It contains no real variant. Michigan 1570 (see *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, pp. 215-226) is a large fragment with well-defined textual character. There are six pure Western readings and no pure Alexandrian, Antiochian, or Caesarean. Four readings are supported by Western and Alexandrian, four by Western and Caesarean, and two by Western and Antiochian. It avoids fifteen pure Antiochian readings, six

Caesarean, and six Alexandrian. It seems opposed to the Western text in only four cases, two being supported by Alexandrian and Caesarean, one by Antiochian and Caesarean, and one by all three. The fact that each of these readings is supported by two or more of the city texts shows that they are early. Each has Caesarean support, which was until recently classified as Western. In fact, if the Western text is interpreted as the uncorrected text existing in the various provinces before the different revisions which produced the city texts, it is obvious that the Caesarean must have had a branch of it as source for all the readings not manufactured by the revisers. But readings found in the other city texts can hardly have been manufactured by the editors of either. All such readings must be traced to the earlier unrevised text, whether it is called Western or not. The eleven special readings in the Michigan fragment present a similar problem. Many of them are changes in order, use of the article, or word-forms, or are synonyms, all these being types of variation characteristic of Western mss. They belong naturally to that early, uncorrected text, even though no other authority can be cited for them.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2 was dated late third or early fourth century by Grenfell and Hunt, editors whose datings are universally accepted. It is a small fragment, and most of the variants occur in proper names, but what evidence it gives points toward a mixed type of text. There are probably no pure readings, though *μαθθαν* of verse 15 has been classed as Western. *βοες* of vs. 5 might have been called Alexandrian, did not Old Latin *k* support it. The two spellings in which the papyrus is supported by B alone are doubtless Egyptian peculiarities, and so might be classed as Western. Western support is found for nine readings, Alexandrian for eight, Caesarean for six, and Antiochian for only two. The Caesarean readings may be disregarded, since each time there is Western or Alexandrian support. The type of text is plainly different from that found in Michigan 1570. It seems about an even mixture of Western and Alexandrian. If the Western text was original in Egypt, then the fragment had undergone partial or careless correction to the Alexandrian type.

TABLE SHOWING FOR EACH FRAGMENT THE NUMBER OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Matthew	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West.-Alex.	West.-Caes.	West.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.	Alex.-Ant.	Caes.-Ant.	West.-Alex.-Caes.	West.-Alex.-Ant.	West.-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	Totals
Michigan 1570 Oxy. Pap. 655	III	11	6	..	..	..	4	4	2	2	..	1	15	6	6	1	1	43	28	29	16	
		1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		5	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	3	..	1	1	3	9	8	6	2	
Berlin 9108 Berlin 9961 Vienna R. 8024 Totals	IV	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	2	1	..	2	..	5	6	5	5	
		1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	6	3	5	3	
		2	1	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	1	3	1	2	3	..	11	9	10	8	
Oxy. Pap. 401 Oxy. Pap. 1227 Oxy. Pap. 1170 Oxy. Pap. 1169 Totals	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	1	2	..	3	5	6	3	
		2	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	1	2	1	
		5	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	4	2	2	2	
		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	2	2	3	2	
		7	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	..	3	..	4	4	..	13	10	13	8	
Oxy. Pap. 1077 Cambridge, T. S. 1693 Vienna R. 8023 Metropol. 14. 1. 527 Paris 129 ¹⁰ 207-208 Paris 129 ¹⁹ 35-36 P. S. I. 1 Rome Borg. 93 Totals	VI-X	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	2	1	3	2	
		2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	3	2	2	
		2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	2	3	0	
		4	..	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	..	2	..	5	7	5	6	
		14	2	1	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	3	..	..	2	..	9	8	7	4	
		7	3	5	2	1	3	..	..	2	1	1	3	..	1	..	..	10	14	9	4	
		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	5	..	..	1	..	6	7	8	1	
		16	2	5	..	..	9	2	1	..	..	1	6	..	7	3	..	27	23	19	12	
		49	8	12	3	2	16	5	3	5	1	3	20	2	11	9	..	65	65	56	31	
		Totals	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

The three fragments of Matthew dated in the fourth century give a clearer picture, though all are small. One reading only seems pure Western, but all except four have Western support. Neither Caesarean nor Antiochian support, though frequent, is significant, as each is combined with Western for all readings except four. Neither are there pure Alexandrian readings, but Alexandrian support is found in nine cases. The explanation of the origin of these texts through a partial correction of a Western base to the Alexandrian type seems adequate.

The four fragments of Matthew assigned to the fifth century give a similar picture. There are three pure Western readings and no pure Alexandrian, Caesarean, or Antiochian. Furthermore, thirteen of the readings have Western support and ten Alexandrian. A combination of these two texts accounts for all the readings except the special. Caesarean and Antiochian support is found for practically the same number of readings, but no definite correction to either of these types is found in any fragment. The explanation that a Western base was carelessly corrected to the Alexandrian type is a sufficient explanation for all cases. No fragment is free from Alexandrian affiliation, though Oxy. Pap. 1170 is nearly so.

In the last period, the sixth to the tenth century, we see the fullest strength of the Alexandrian text. In the eight fragments there are twelve pure Alexandrian readings and only eight pure Western. Pure Caesarean and Antiochian readings are confined to two fragments, one of each except that Caesarean has two in one fragment. Western support is found for sixty-five readings, the number that has Alexandrian support, but the Alexandrian readings are more important. Caesarean support is found less often, and is combined with Western or Alexandrian or both in all but six instances. The Antiochian support is even weaker. In no one of the eight fragments is there definite proof of a revision to either of these types of text, though a slight influence can not be denied in two fragments.

The text of Matthew in this whole series of eighteen fragments is adequately explained on the assumption of an original Western text gradually corrected to the Alexandrian type.

MARK

There are no fragments of Mark from the third and fourth centuries. The three fragments assigned to the fifth century have only one pure Western reading and two Alexandrian, all in the same fragment, Vienna R. 8025. This fragment indicates a definite correction of a Western base to conform to the Alexandrian type of text, but the other two do not show this. Both the latter are small fragments and the scanty evidence may be misleading, but since pure Alexandrian readings are avoided six times, we must provisionally assume that there was no correction to the Alexandrian type in the texts represented by these fragments. Neither was there a correction to the Caesarean or the Antiochian text. The one variant without Western support is the regular reading for both Caesarean and Antiochian mss., and hence is probably an older reading which does not happen to be preserved in the existing Western sources.

Four fragments of Mark are assigned to the period from the sixth to the tenth century. As a whole they show a decided trend toward the Alexandrian text. There are eleven pure Western readings, five Alexandrian, one Caesarean, and two Antiochian. In all, thirty-four readings have Western support, twenty-seven Alexandrian, twenty-two Caesarean, and twenty Antiochian. Seven of the pure Western readings are found in one fragment, Berlin P. 13416, which also contains much of the Caesarean and Antiochian support with no trace of Alexandrian influence. The other three fragments show the ordinary Western base strongly corrected to the Alexandrian type.

The Berlin fragment P. 13416 requires more than passing mention. It was first published by Salonius in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 26, pp. 101 f.² On page 98 he states that it goes with the uncials E G H, 565, the versions and Origen.

Lake (Caesarean Text of Mark, in this Review, XXI, p. 212) discussed the fragment as a member of the Θ -family, or at least

² See Salonius's article for the text of the other Berlin fragments not fully reported by Gregory.

strongly marked with Caesarean readings. Such is not the story told by the tabulation above, so that I must particularize. I discuss only those readings as to which I differ from Saloni^{us} or Lake.

Mark 11, 13 *ως ευρησων* (for *ει αρα ευρησει*) Θ 565 700 a f q Or. Georg. This is for Lake the most characteristic Caesarean reading. I classify it as Western-Caesarean, as the support of three Old Latin mss. shows definite Western influence.

In 11, 13 the order *ευρησων τι* is supported by the Antiochian text, together with Gothic, Armenian, and some Latin mss. We probably see here the textual form which caused the change of order in Antiochian; hence it has been classified as Western-Antiochian.

11, 13 *ελθων δε* for *και ελθων*. This has been classed as Western-Caesarean on the meagre support of 565 a f Or. The two Old Latin mss. seem sufficient to show a branch of the Western tradition, but the Caesarean evidence is weak. Codex 565 is closer to the Western witnesses than the other Caesarean sources, and the readings of Origen are at times erratic.

11, 13 omit *επ αυτην* D b c ff² i k a g¹ Georg. This is a pure Western reading. Its support by Georgian indicates the source of the Caesarean text, not the Caesarean itself, as I have already explained.

11, 13 *εν αυτη* for *ει μη φυλλα*. This has been claimed for Caesarean by Lake on the sole support of Georgian, and it has been so registered in the table above. If that is correct, it is the only pure Caesarean reading in the fragment. However that does not tell the whole story. There are really two variants in this one reading, an omission and an addition. For the omission there is abundant Western support. Such omissions, however, are frequently caused by glosses or additions written above, so that the addition may have belonged to the earlier Western text, and have disappeared in the existing sources. In any case the two variants are probably related.

11, 14 *ο δε ιησους* for *και αποκριθεις*. This has been considered an unsupported reading by my predecessors, and that is correct as regards the addition of *δε*, but we must add that D 291 565 a q syr^{sin} Or. omit *αποκριθεις*, and that *ο ιησους* is added by the

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Mark	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West.-Alex.	West.-Caes.	West.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.	Alex.-Ant.	Caes.-Ant.	West.-Alex.-Caes.	West.-Alex.-Ant.	West.-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian
Vienna R. 8025 Bodleian Gk. e. 5. p Oxy. Pap. 3	V	1	1	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	3	2	1	1	..	10	11	7	5
		..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	5	1	5	2	5
		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	..	..	4	0	5	5
		Totals.....	1	1	2	..	2	3	..	..	..	2	4	2	7	1	..	19	12	17	12
Vienna K. 8662 Paris 129 ^s 162 Heidelberg 1354 Berlin 13416	VI-X	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	4	5	2	5
		4	3	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	6	4	4	5
		3	..	2	..	..	4	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	1	1	..	8	13	7	5
		10	7	..	1	1	..	3	2	1	1	..	3	..	1	1	1	16	5	9	5
		Totals.....	17	11	5	1	2	4	4	3	4	2	6	1	5	4	1	34	27	22	20

Antiochian text. As the interchange of $\delta\epsilon$ for $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is a characteristic Western change, it is likely that we here see an earlier type of Western reading, which was combined with the Alexandrian to produce the Antiochian.

11, 14. The order $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\omicron\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \phi\alpha\gamma\omicron\iota$ is supported by some Latin mss., but the reading as a whole is special, since there is no support for the order of $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\iota\omega\nu\alpha$ after $\phi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\iota$.

11, 14 $\phi\alpha\gamma\omicron\iota$ must be classed as an Alexandrian-Antiochian reading, since $\phi\alpha\gamma\eta$ is read by D U W fam. 1 fam. 13 91 299 al²⁰ Or. and is to be regarded as Western-Caesarean.

11, 15. Salonus partially supplies the lacuna as follows: $\kappa\alpha\iota$ [.] $\epsilon\rho[\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \overline{\iota\mu\alpha}] \kappa\alpha\iota$, and assumes an unknown addition after the first $\kappa\alpha\iota$. This is unlikely, because the text of the fragment tends toward omissions rather than additions and further because the abbreviation $\overline{\iota\mu\alpha}$ for Ιεροσολυμα is unknown. In fact Ιεροσολυμα is not abbreviated. I should supply $\kappa\alpha\iota$ [$\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{ιεροσολυμα}$] $\epsilon\rho[\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\lambda\iota\nu] \kappa\alpha\iota$, which gives fifteen letters for the first line and fourteen for the second, the same numbers as for the third and fourth lines. The transposition, $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \text{Ιεροσολυμα}\ \epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, is without support here, but similar transpositions are frequent in the Western text, and furthermore $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\nu$ is added after $\epsilon\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ by \aleph , many lectionaries, and a b f ff² i mt vg^{sist}, so that it is to be regarded as a Western reading.

11, 17. Lake properly calls the omission of $\omicron\upsilon$ before $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\alpha\pi\tau\alpha\iota$ a Caesarean-Western reading. We may add Codices 69 and 700 to the Caesarean evidence. The omission of $\omicron\tau\iota$ is, however, supported by Codex 69 alone of the certain Caesarean sources, while its Western character is amply proved by the support of C D 251 300 472 476 a c k g arm aeth. The omission in Codex 69 is probably accidental.

I have probably discussed this fragment to the point of weariness, but what I have said will serve at the same time to show the system on which my tables have been made. Furthermore, as will be shown in the course of this article, the fragment would be out of accord with all others if it showed a decided Caesarean text in Egypt. As the fragment is dated in the seventh century a slight amount of Caesarean and Antiochian influence is pos-

sible, though the text as a whole remained an unrevised Western. There is no Alexandrian influence.

LUKE

The two fragments from the fourth century have been considered as one. They are from the same manuscript, which clearly had a Western text. There are twelve pure Western readings, and no pure readings of any other type. There are, in fact, but three readings for which Western support is not known, and that may be explained by the scantiness of the known Western sources.

From the fifth century one fragment is predominantly Western, though the presence of one pure Alexandrian reading suggests contamination with that type. The four readings for which Caesarean-Antiochian support is listed may perhaps be explained as survivals of an earlier text, and their presence here used as proof of a lost Western type.

The second fragment is too small to give any evidence, but the third shows definite and full revision to the Alexandrian text. This is abundantly proved by the eleven pure Alexandrian readings against five pure Western and none of either of the other types. Further there are but two readings with combined Caesarean-Antiochian support, and these are easily explained as in the similar cases treated above. Many of the twenty-four special readings may also be referred to an earlier, more varied Western text.

There are fourteen fragments assigned to the period from the sixth to the tenth century. As a whole these show definite Alexandrian revision with sixty-eight pure Alexandrian readings to forty-three Western. There are also six pure Antiochian readings and four Caesarean, but only one fragment has more than one of either. In view of the large numbers of variants handled in this group such small numbers as these are not very impressive. Some Antiochian influence can not be denied, as in Vienna, Lit. Theol. 23,³ but it was not extensive, and can

³ The full text of the Vienna fragments is given by Wessely in *Studien zu Paläographie und Papyruskunde*.

TABLE SHOWING FOR EACH FRAGMENT THE NUMBER OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Luke	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West.-Alex.	West.-Caes.	West.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.	Alex.-Ant.	Caes.-Ant.	West.-Alex.-Caes.	West.-Alex.-Ant.	West.-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Totals			
																		Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian
P. I. L. 2 + 124	IV	6	12	..	..	..	1	4	..	1	..	1	..	..	6	1	..	24	4	13	7
Vienna L. T. 20	V	7	4	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	4	4	2	1	1	..	15	11	12	9
P. S. I. 719		3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	0
Vienna L. T. 19		24	5	11	..	..	17	3	..	8	2	2	15	..	10	6	..	50	59	44	20
Totals		34	9	12	..	..	20	5	..	8	3	6	19	2	11	7	..	66	71	56	29
Paris 129 ^{is} 65	VI-X	5	1	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	6	5	4	2
Paris 129 ^r 35		14	5	13	..	2	11	..	1	6	..	..	6	5	..	8	..	20	33	14	14
Paris 129 ^s 136		1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	3	..	5	6	5	5
Paris 129 ^s 157		2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	1	7	5	4
Paris Sup. 1120		3	3	5	1	1	3	..	..	3	1	..	11	..	1	..	1	18	23	16	3
Lec. Par. B. M. V. Ox.		118	25	31	1	1	48	10	10	18	3	6	39	6	48	15	..	186	160	137	89
Rome Borg. 109 ^s 5		9	1	2	1	..	6	..	..	1	..	1	2	2	2	5	..	13	18	12	11
Vienna L. T. 12		6	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	2	1	..	6	4	4	5
Vienna L. T. 23		1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	3	3
Vienna 8021		1	1	5	..	..	7	..	..	1	1	..	2	..	1	3	..	11	19	7	5
Harris, Sinai 13		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	0	1	1
Cairo Ost.		12	1	5	..	1	1	..	5	2	2	..	1	..	4	8	..	7	19	15	15
Totals		172	40	66	4	6	80	11	16	32	8	8	64	15	63	47	1	275	295	223	157

not even be considered as fully proved. There is less evidence of Caesarean influence.

JOHN

The even distribution of the fragments of John gives a very clear picture of the development of the text. In the third century we find a pure Western text except for five readings, one classed as pure Alexandrian and four supported by all mss. and versions except the Western sources. The first of these is probably an Egyptian peculiarity adopted in the Alexandrian text. It would not then differ materially from the four readings classed as Egyptian because found in one Alexandrian ms. only, or from the three special readings. This fragment alone has nine readings without Alexandrian support, so that there can be no question of Alexandrian influence. The four other readings in the two third-century fragments which lack Western support are examples of the correct text, where the existing Western sources show later errors. As in Matthew, there is no sign of Caesarean or Antiochian influence in the third century.

The three fragments assigned to the fourth century show the beginning of adaptation to the Alexandrian text. We still find more pure Western readings than pure Alexandrian, but the total support is practically the same for the two types. Caesarean or Antiochian support is found in about half the variants, but there are no readings supported by either of these two types alone or both of them together.

In the fifth century the Alexandrian text takes the lead. Even the pure Alexandrian readings exceed the pure Western. There are still no pure Caesarean or Antiochian readings, though there is one supported only by these two types. Every other variant in these three fragments, except the four specials, can be shown to be either Alexandrian or Western or both.

In the last group of fragments representing the time of the decay of the Greek influence, the Alexandrian text maintains its dominant position, but by only a small margin. In fact, in five out of the eleven fragments the Western readings are more numerous, but this may be in part due to chance, as four of the larger fragments show a preponderance of Alexandrian

TABLE SHOWING FOR EACH FRAGMENT THE NUMBER OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS

John	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West.-Alex.	West.-Caes.	West.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.	Alex.-Ant.	Caes.-Ant.	West.-Alex.-Caes.	West.-Alex.-Ant.	West.-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	Totals
Oxy. Pap. 208 + 1781	III	2	4	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	10	..	3	2	4	25	15	17	3	5
		1	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	2	..	8	7	8	5	
Totals		3	4	1	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	13	..	6	4	4	33	22	25	8	
Oxy. Pap. 1596	IV	1	4	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	2	5	..	12	12	10	8	
Oxy. Pap. 1780		..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	5	4	3	1	
Oxy. Pap. 847		..	1	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	..	6	6	2	2	
Totals		1	6	3	..	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	5	2	4	5	..	23	22	15	11	
Brit. Mus. Add. 17136	V	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	3	4	..	5	9	10	9	
Berlin 5877		1	2	3	..	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	7	11	3	2	
Florence Mus. 14		1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	5	2	2	2	
Totals		4	3	4	..	..	8	..	..	2	1	1	1	..	5	6	..	17	22	15	13	
P. S. I. 3	VI-X	2	3	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	6	4	3	2	
Paris 129 ¹⁰ 196		2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	0	2	1	
Brit. Mus. Or. 5707		13	4	2	2	..	5	6	2	2	4	3	7	3	11	14	..	37	37	39	37	
Paris 129 ¹⁰ 198		2	2	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	1	1	0	
Strasbourg p. 379		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	2	1	
Vienna R. 8032		5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	1	0	
Paris 132 ² 92		1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	0	1	0	
Paris 129 ¹¹ 1. 10. 12		5	4	5	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	3	0	2	
Vienna L. T. 22		..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	11	9	5	3	
Berlin 5010		12	2	6	..	..	7	..	..	2	..	2	2	1	1	3	..	13	22	11	7	
Paris 129 ¹⁰ 57		1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	0	0	0	
Totals		43	15	16	2	..	17	10	2	6	5	6	10	9	19	18	1	81	83	68	57	

readings and only one an excess of Western. There are no pure Antiochian readings and only two Caesarean, both in the same fragment. This is the largest fragment, and has four pure Western readings, so that it is rather questionable to assume a partial Caesarean revision. These two readings and the three supported only by Caesarean and Antiochian may go back to a Western type no longer in existence, or we may accept a slight Caesarean influence.

The evidence of the fragments of John throughout the whole period supports the view of an original Western text gradually but incompletely corrected to the Alexandrian.

ACTS

The fragments of Acts are abundant, and show a good division for the different centuries, but it is impossible to carry through the comparison of the four types of text on the same basis by reason of the lack of recognized sources for the Caesarean. I have however assumed Caesarean support, in addition to that of the other types, when the majority of all mss. support the reading and only some definite type of text is opposed. To make up for this disadvantage the Western text is more sharply defined than in the gospels. There can be no question that both fragments assigned to the third century are pure Western. To be sure thirteen readings lack Western support, but this number is not impressive against twenty-nine pure Western readings and thirty-two specials, most of which are of Western character. Well defined as the Western text is in Acts, the number of sources for it is much reduced and only the Codex Bezae approaches a continuous text. Fuller and older sources would probably show most of these thirteen readings to be Western.⁴

The same type of text is shown by the one small fragment published as late third or early fourth century, but the three dated in the fourth century show a definite, strong Alexandrian influence, though the Western base remains only partly ob-

⁴ See Harvard Theological Review, XX, pp. 1-15, for a study of the Michigan fragment.

TABLE SHOWING FOR EACH FRAGMENT THE NUMBER OF TEXTUAL VARIANTS

Acts	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West-Alex.	West-Caes.	West-Ant.	West-Alex.-Ant.	West-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	Totals	
P. S. I. 1165 } Michigan 1571 }	III	18 11	3	..	1	15	4	3	3	32	29
		14 18	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	27	16	15	13
Totals		32 29	5	..	3	1	42	20	18	16		
Oxy. Pap. 1597	III-IV	2 3	3	0	0	0		
Berlin 9808 } Berlin 11765 } Berlin 8683 }	IV	..	3	2	3	13	8	6	14	6
		3	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	2	0	1
		11	6	2	..	..	10	..	3	2	2	2	..	25	27	23	25
Totals		14	6	7	..	..	12	..	4	3	2	2	..	29	42	31	32
Heidelberg 1357 } P. S. I. 2 + 125 } Amherst 8 } Berlin 13271 }	V	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
		1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	10	10	7
		4	3	1	..	..	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	8	16	13	13
		9	4	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..	1	18	11	6
Totals		14	7	2	2	10	..	4	1	1	..	32	39	30	31		
Cambridge, T. S. 12, etc. } Vienna L. T. 16 } Vienna L. T. 25 } Vienna K. 7541-8 }	VI-X	1	5	8	0	3	7	15	12
		1	1	3	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	5	9	0	2
		..	..	1	..	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	6	4	5	7
		14	11	1	..	7	2	2	3	2	..	..	..	18	15	4	10
Totals		15	12	6	..	8	7	3	10	3	2	37	28	12	26		

scured. There are still seven pure Western readings to five pure Alexandrian, but Alexandrian support is given to forty-two readings against twenty-nine having Western support. Neither the Antiochian nor the Caesarean type of text had appeared in Egypt up to the end of the third century, for there are no pure readings of either type. There are but two readings that lack both Western and Alexandrian support, and, considering the incompleteness of the sources, these may be disregarded.

Four fragments have been dated in the fifth century. Except for the decline of pure Alexandrian readings from five to two and the addition of two pure Antiochian, there has been little change in the type of text. All of the supported readings except the two classed as Antiochian have either Western or Alexandrian support or both. In total number of readings supported the Alexandrian again leads the Western.

In the fragments from the later centuries the Western text seems stronger, but this is entirely due to one fragment, Vienna K. 7541-8, which is strongly Western. It has eleven pure Western readings and only ten without Western support. Of these seven are pure Antiochian and only one, or at most three, Alexandrian. It is probable that this fragment came from some outlying monastery, where the Alexandrian text had had little influence, whereas the Antiochian text had come in late. The very small fragment, Cambridge, Taylor and Schechter, has no Alexandrian readings, and this fact may also point to origin from a similarly located monastery. Here, however, the Antiochian support is without importance, as every reading can be explained as Western.

Before passing to a collective view of our evidence for the five books of the New Testament, it may be well to repeat a few statements from the previous tables for the sake of comparison. There is no early evidence in the papyri for the text of Mark. The Western evidence is most strongly marked in the earliest fragments of each book.

The Alexandrian text appears plainly in the fourth century in both John and Acts; it is strongly indicated in Matthew and Luke. The fifth century shows a decided increase in the Alexandrian influence in each book except Matthew, where it

seems no stronger than before. In the case of Matthew the evidence for the fourth and fifth centuries is confined to three small fragments for each century, with fifteen variants in each group.

In the later centuries the Alexandrian text becomes stronger than the Western in all five of the books and in nearly all of the fragments.

In Acts, the Antiochian text seems to appear in the fifth century, but in two fragments only. In Matthew, Mark, and Luke it appears in a few fragments a century or so later. It never acquired a wide influence in Egypt.

The Caesarean text had even less influence there, and that little is confined to the sixth and seventh centuries. Little can be assumed regarding the Caesarean text in Acts, as stated above, and the evidence is of somewhat doubtful interpretation in the other books. Its influence seems slightly stronger in Matthew and Luke, but that is perhaps caused by the size and character of the fragments preserved. The fact that the division between Western and Caesarean witnesses has not yet been sharply made, and that some seem to have a mixed text, makes the classification of small fragments difficult. It may well be that the Caesarean text was based on that type of the Western which circulated in Palestine, and that some of the accepted witnesses never enjoyed a complete revision. If this be the case, it will be necessary to eliminate from the Caesarean evidence not only the Antiochian variants, which came into the sources later, but also the Western, which survived from the earlier text.

Because of the fragmentary character of the evidence, it seems proper to combine all the variants of all the fragments in one table. While this tends to obscure the differences in text transmission between the different gospels and Acts, yet the cumulation of evidence under each century lessens the effect of slight errors in assignment as well as the importance of fragments having unusual variants.

COMBINED TABLE FOR THE FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS

After the discussion of the previous tables, this one is almost self-explanatory. The cumulation of evidence makes the supremacy of the Western text in the third century still more striking. The group dated around 300 A.D. contains but two fragments, one from Matthew and the other from Acts. Both are predominantly Western, but Alexandrian influence is probably present. This weak evidence is supported by the consideration that in four fragments from the epistles, not included in the limits of this paper, the influence of the Alexandrian text is clearer. All of the fragments here discussed came from parts of Egypt well removed from Alexandria. There are, therefore, two possible explanations of this difference in the Alexandrian influence: either the Alexandrian revision of the epistles circulated earlier than that of the gospels and Acts, or else the two fragments which we have listed at the turn of the century are too small to give a correct picture of the textual relationship.

Neither the Caesarean nor the Antiochian text had any great influence on the Egyptian New Testament, but slight modification in individual fragments seems probable, especially in the case of the Antiochian.

The most important inference is that all of the older mss. should show some signs of the Western text, which antedated the revision. In my opinion this must be accepted even for the Vaticanus, while for the Sinaitic some such explanation is almost unavoidable. The Alexandrinus accords less well with the above tabulation. In Acts and the epistles it shows the thorough Alexandrian revision that the time, the place (if indeed it be from Egypt as claimed), and the magnificence of the volume demands, but in the gospels there is a relationship to the Antiochian or pre-antiochian (von Soden's K^a) that is not found at any time in the fragments. Such an Antiochian influence may have existed in Alexandria or its vicinity and yet not have spread to the parts of Egypt where papyri have been preserved. This explanation is in a measure supported by the character of the text in the Freer gospels, where the whole of Matthew and the last two-thirds of Luke show a

COMBINED TABLE FOR THE FOUR GOSPELS AND ACTS

No. of fragments	Century	Special	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian	West.-Alex.	West.-Caes.	West.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.	Alex.-Ant.	Caes.-Ant.	West.-Alex.-Caes.	West.-Alex.-Ant.	West.-Caes.-Ant.	Alex.-Caes.-Ant.	Egyptian	Western	Alexandrian	Caesarean	Antiochian
9	III	47	39	1	0	1	13	6	5	3	0	1	33	6	13	16	6	118	70	62	40
2	III-IV	7	4	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	3	12	8	5	1
10	IV	23	26	8	0	0	21	5	6	5	3	4	10	3	17	27	0	87	77	69	58
17	V	59	23	20	0	2	42	9	4	12	5	9	31	4	31	36	1	145	152	128	91
41	VI-X	306	89	106	10	18	125	34	34	49	22	19	104	26	104	84	2	500	512	392	298

No. of fragments

Totals

rather full revision of a Western base to the Antiochian type. As a seaport, Alexandria was closely connected with Antioch, Caesarea, and even Carthage, so that all the varying elements in the Freer text might have been assembled at or near that city. Neither is it particularly rare for a ms. to show different types of text in different parts. Many of the Old Latin mss. and of Greek mss. enumerated by von Soden show that characteristic. I am sure that it will be found in many later mss. when they are examined with sufficient care. An excellent example of this is the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, recently published by D. W. Riddle of the University of Chicago.

Though outside the limits of this paper, the Freer ms. of the epistles of Paul furnishes so excellent an example of the typical Egyptian text of the sixth century, that I can not omit mention. In the 105 fragments preserved, 450 important readings have been identified. The great majority of these are Alexandrian, but a moderate sprinkling of Western readings has survived, showing that the Alexandrian revision was made on a Western base. There are some twenty pure Antiochian readings, which seem to show a direct influence of that type of text. When I published the ms. in 1917 this textual mixture seemed remarkable. Now it develops that it characterized the common sixth-century text of Egypt.

The publication of the Beatty fragments of the gospels and Acts is awaited with the utmost interest, and will give most important evidence on the question discussed here. Sir Frederic Kenyon has already announced that in Mark the text seems to show affiliation with the Caesarean. If this proves correct, it will throw great light on the origin of the Caesarean text, but I am more inclined to think the relationship will be closer to the pre-caesarean, which is only another name for one of the varieties of the Western.

The steady growth of the Alexandrian text in the fragments, from its first appearance at the end of the third century down to the sixth or seventh century, should be considered as proof that it was the ecclesiastically adopted text of the time. The proper parallel is the spread of the Vulgate through the Bibles

of Western Europe. There also we find that some reasonably pure examples survived for a time, but most mss. show a mixed text with the Vulgate predominating only after a long time, while the Old Latin text in a diluted form survived till the twelfth or thirteenth century. Precisely similar is the history of the Alexandrian text in Egypt, whether it is considered a revision made by the church fathers of Egypt or an ancient text adopted by them as a standard.

SIX COPTIC FRAGMENTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM NITRIA

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The fragments published in the present article were obtained during a visit to the Coptic monasteries in the Wâdi Naṭrûn, which was made in February, 1923. They are all of paper, and they are all in the Bohairic dialect. One of them (Fragment IV) was written in the thirteenth century, and the rest are of the fourteenth. Fragments I, II, III, V, and VI were once parts of lectionaries; and Fragment IV may also have belonged originally to a book of lessons, but in this case it is impossible to speak with certainty. There is nothing to prove that it is not a leaf from a manuscript of the gospels. Fragments I, II, and III, which together with certain other leaves have been made into a small booklet,¹ were found at the convent known as Abû Maḳâr. The others came from the Monastery of Anbâ

¹ The booklet consists of seven leaves: three containing the New Testament fragments here published, one from a lost work on Dioscorus, and three from a Bohairic version of the *Certamen Apostolorum*. The leaf from the work on Dioscorus appeared in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, VI, pp. 108 ff., and in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, pp. 377 ff. The three folia of the *Certamen Apostolorum* are part of the same manuscript to which the leaf discovered by Tischendorf in 1844 (Cambridge, University Library, Add. MS. 1886, 3) and the thirty-eight folia found by Hugh G. Evelyn White in 1920-1921 (Cairo, Coptic Museum, MSS. 5-6) belonged. These have been edited and translated into English by H. G. E. White (*The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun*, New York, 1926, Part I, pp. 27 ff.). With the exception of the Vatican Martyrdom of Luke (Cod. Vat. Copt. 68, 2) the codex of which the present leaves once formed part is the only known manuscript of the *Certamen Apostolorum* in Bohairic. I hope to publish all the extant folia of this manuscript later. For the text of Cod. Vat. Copt. 68, 2, see P. G. Balestri in Bessarione, Serie II, VIII, pp. 128 ff. Three Bohairic fragments in Leipzig (Codd. Tischendorf XXVII, 3; XXVI, A. 2; and XXVIII, 8) contain part of the story of Matthias in Bârtôs. But this legend is not found in the Arabic or the Ethiopic version of the *Certamen Apostolorum*, and therefore it does not seem to have been included in the Bohairic form of the work. On these fragments see W. E. Crum in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XXIX, pp. 303 f.

Bishôî, which is near Deir es-Sûriâni. All the fragments are at present in my possession.

Fragment I

Saec. xiv; 25 cm. × 17.8 cm.; one column; 17 lines to the page; ruling with a dull point; letters pendent; ink black; initial red; punctuation and ornamentation red. Contents: Luke 21, 25 (ϋΕΝ ΦΡΗ)—34 (ΘΗΝΟΥ). The leaf is numbered 223. Found at Deir Abû Maḵâr.

Luke xxi

- 25 ϋΕΝ ΦΡΗ } ΝΕΜ ΠΠΟΖ ΝΕΜ ΝΙCΙΟΥ } ΟΥΟΖ
ΟΥΖΟΧΖΕΧ ΝΤΕ ΖΑΝΕΘΝΟC ΕΦΕΩΠΠΙ ΖΙΧΕΝ
ΠΚΑΖΙ } ϋΕΝ ΟΥΑΠΟΡΙΑ ΝΤΕ ΤCΜΗ ΜΦΙΟΜ
ΝΕΜ ΦΜΟΝΜΕΝ }
- 26 ΖΑΝΡΩΜΙ ΕΡΕ ΤΟΛΨΥΧΗ Ι ΕΒΟΛ ΝΉΗΤΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ
ΖΑ ΤΖΟΨ } ΝΕΜ ΠCΟΜC ΕΒΟΛ ΉΑΧΩΟΥ ΝΗΗ
ΕΘΗΝΟΥ ΕΧΕΝ ΨΟΙΚΟΥΜΗΗΗ } ΝΙΧΟΜ ΓΑΡ
ΝΤΕ ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ CΕΝΑΚΙΜ }
- CNH 27 ΟΥΟΖ ΕΥΕΝΑΥ ΕΠΩΗΡΙ ΜΦΡΩΜΙ ΚΗΗΟΥ ϋΕΝ
B ΟΥΘΗΠΠΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΧΟΜ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΝΙΩΨ ΝΩΟΥ }
- 28 ΕΡΕ ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΝΑΕΡΖΗΤC ΝΨΩΠΠΙ ΧΟΥΨΤ
ΕΠΩΩΙ } ΟΥΟΖ ΤΩΟΥΝ ΝΗΕΤΕΝΑΦΗΟΥΙ ΧΕ
(ΧΕ *supra script.*) ΚΉΕΝΤ ΝΧΕΠΕΤΕΝCΩΨ }
- 29 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΚΧΕ ΟΥΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ ΝΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΑΝΑΥ
ΕΨΩ ΝΚΕΝΤΕ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΨΩΗΗ ΤΗΡΟΥ }
- 30 ΕΩΠΠΙ ΖΗΔΗ ΕΥΝΑΨΟΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΝΑΥ
ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤΟΥ ΨΑΡΕΤΕΝΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΑΚΉΩΝΤ
ΝΧΕΠΠΩΜ }
- 31 ΠΑΙΡΗΨ ΝΘΩΤΕΝ ΖΩΤΕΝ ΑΡΕΤΕΝΨΑΝΝΑΥ
ΕΝΑΙ ΕΥΝΑΨΩΠΠΙ ΑΡΙΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΑCΉΩΝΤ ΝΧΕ-
ΨΜΕΤΟΥΡΟ ΝΤΕ ΦΨ }

- 32 ΛΜΗ̄ ̄†ΧΩ ̄ΝΜΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ ΔΕ ̄ΝΝΕ ΤΑΙΓΕΝΕΑ
CINI ̄ΨΑΤΕ (ΤΕ *supra script.*) ΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ̄ΨΩΠΙ ̄
33 ΤΦΕ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ CΕΝΑCINI ΝΑCΑΧΙ ΔΕ ̄ΝΝΟΥ-
CINI ̄
34 ΜΑΖΘΗΤΕΝ ΔΕ ΕΡΩΤΕΝ ΜΗΠΟΤΕ ̄ΝΤΟΥΖΡΩ
̄ΝΧΕΝΕΤΕΝΖΗΤ ̄ΒΕΝ ΖΑΝΘΙΜΕ ̄ ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΘΙΗΙ
ΝΕΜ ΖΑΝΡΩΟΥΨ ̄ΒΙΩΤΙΚΟΝ ̄ ΟΥΟΖ ̄ΝΟΥΖΟ†
(̄Ν *supra script.*) ̄ΒΕΝ ΟΥΖΟ† ΕΤΕQΙ ΕΧΕΝ
ΘΗΝΟΥ

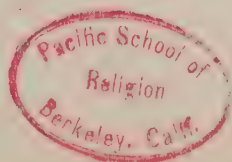
The following variants are not given in Horner's apparatus criticus: 26 ̄ΤΟΙΚΟΥΜΗΝΗ; 27 QNHΟΥ.

Fragment II

Part of the same manuscript as Fragment I. Contents: Luke 24,7 (̄ΒΕΝ ΠΙΜΑΖΓ̄ ̄ΝΕΖΟΟΥ)—17. The leaf is numbered 140. Found at Deir Abû Makâr.

Luke xxiv

- 7 ̄ΒΕΝ ΠΙΜΑΖΓ̄ ̄ΝΕΖΟΟΥ ̄
8 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΕΡΦΜΕΥΙ ̄ΝΝΕQCΑΧΙ ̄
9 ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑΥΤΑCΘΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ ΠῙΖΑΥ ̄ ΑΥ-
ΤΑΜΕ ΠῙΑ ΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΕΜ ΝΙCΩΧΠ ΤΗΡΟΥ ̄
10 ΝΕΜ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΔΕ ̄ΤΜΑΓΔΑΛΙΝΗ ΝΕΜ ΙΩΝΝΑ ̄
ΝΕΜ ΜΑΡΙΑ ̄ΝΤΕ ΙΑΚΩΒΟC ̄ ΝΕΜ ΠCΩΧΠ
ΕΘΝΕΜΩΟΥ ΝΗ ΕΝΑΥΧΩ ΠΝΑΙ ̄ΝΝΙΑΠΟCΤΟ-
ΛΟC ̄
11 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΥΟΥΩΝΖ ̄ΝΧΕΝΑΙCΑΧΙ ̄ΠΟῩ̄ΘΟ
ΕΒΟΛ ̄ ̄ΦΡΗ† ̄ΝΟΥΕΒΩΙ ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΥΤΕΝΖΟΥΤ
̄ΜΩΟΥ ΑΝ ΠΕ
12 ΠΕΤΡΟC ΔΕ ΑQΤΩΝQ ΑQΒΟΧΙ ΕΠῙΖΑΥ ̄
ΟΥΟΖ ΕΤΑQCΟΜC ΕΒΟΥΝ ΑQΝΑΥ ΕΝΙΖΒΩC



ἡμαγ^ατοῦ ὁ οὐ^ος α^αρ^ρω^ε να^αρ επ^εερ^ρη^ηι ε^ερ^ρε^ε-
ω^ωφ^φη^ηρ^ρι ἡ^ηφ^φη ε^ετα^αρ^ρω^ωπ^πι ὅ

13 οὐ^ος ρ^ρη^ηπ^πε ι^ις β^β ε^εβο^ολ ἡ^ηη^ητοῦ να^αγ^γμο^οπ^πι
π^πε ἡ^ηεν π^πιε^ερ^ρο^ου ε^ετε^εμ^μα^αγ ὅ ε^ευ^υνα ε^εο^ου^υτ^τμ^μι
ε^ερ^ρο^ου^υη^ηοῦ ἡ^ηι^ιλ^λη^ημ^μ να^αγ ζ^ζ ἡ^ης^ςτα^ατι^ιον επ^εε^ες^ςρα^αν
π^πε ε^εμ^μα^αο^ου^υς ὅ

14 οὐ^ος ἡ^ηθ^θω^ωυ^υ να^αγ^γσα^αχι ν^νε^εμ νο^ου^υερ^ρη^ηοῦ
ε^εθ^θε^ε ν^ναι τη^ηρ^ροῦ ε^ετα^αγ^γω^ωπ^πι ὅ

15 οὐ^ος α^ας^ςω^ωπ^πι ε^εγ^γσα^αχι ὅ οὐ^ος ε^εγ^γκ^κω^ωτ^τ ἡ^ηθ^θο^ορ^ρ
ρ^ρω^ωρ ι^ιη^ης α^αρ^ρῆ^ηω^ων^ντ ε^ερ^ρω^ωυ^υ ὅ α^αρ^ρμ^μο^οπ^πι ν^νε^εμ^μω^ωυ^υ
να^αρ

16 α^αμ^μο^ον^νι^ι¹ δε ἡ^ην^νοῦ^υβα^αλ ε^εω^ωτε^εμ^μς^ςοῦ^υω^ων^νρ ὅ

17 πε^εχα^αρ δε ν^νω^ωυ^υ κε να^αι^ισα^αχι οὔ ν^νε ὅ ε^ετε^ε-
τε^εν^νχ^χω ἡ^ημ^μω^ωυ^υ ὅ ν^νε^εμ νε^ετε^ενε^ερ^ρη^ηοῦ ε^ερ^ρ-
τε^εν^νμ^μο^οπ^πι ὅ οὐ^ος α^αγ^γο^ορ^ρι ε^ερα^ατοῦ ε^εγ^γο^οκε^εμ

The following variant is not given in Horner's apparatus
criticus: 10 ι^ιω^ων^ννα

Fragment III

Part of the same manuscript as Fragments I and II, but in
Fragment III there are 18 lines to the page. The first two
lines of the chapter are red, and the initial is yellow and red.
Contents: John 13, 38 (α^αμ^μη^ην)—14, 10 (ἡ^ηη^ητ). The leaf
is numbered 216. Found at Deir Abû Makâr.

John xiii

38 α^αμ^μη^ην α^αμ^μη^ην τ^τχ^χω ἡ^ημ^μο^ος να^ακ ὅ κε ἡ^ηνε οὔ-
α^αλε^εκ^κτω^ωρ μοῦ^υτ ψ^ψα^ατε^εκ^κχο^ολ^λτ ε^εβο^ολ ἡ^ηγ^γ ἡ^ης^ςο^οπ^πι ὅ

¹ να^αρ α^αμ^μο^ον^νι is for να^αγ^γα^αμ^μο^ον^νι. γ and ρ are not infrequently
confounded on account of similarity in pronunciation.

ⲙⲁ

xiv

ⲡⲕⲥ

1

- 1 ἡΠΕΝΘΕΡΕ ΠΕΤΕΝΖΗΤ ΨΘΟΡΤΕΡ ΝΑΖ† ΕΦ†
ΟΥΟΖ ΝΑΖ† ΕΡΩΙ ΖΩ }
- 2 ΟΥΟΝ ΟΥΜΗΨ ἡΜΟΝΗ ΞΕΝ ΠΗΙ ἡΠΑΙΩΤ }
ΕΝΕ ἡΜΟΝ ΝΑΙΝΑΧΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ ΠΕ } ΧΕ †ΝΑΨΕ
ΝΗΙ ἡΤΑCΕΒΤΕ ΟΥΜΑ ΝΩΤΕΝ }
- 3 ΟΥΟΖ ΑΙΨΑΝΨΕ ΝΗΙ ἡΤΑCΕΒΤΕ ΟΥΜΑ ΝΩΤΕΝ }
ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΝ ΕΙΕΙ ἡΤΑΕΛ ΘΗΝΟΥ ΖΑΡΟΙ ΖΙΝΑ
ΦΜΑ ΑΝΟΚ Ε†ΨΟΠ ἡΜΟϞ ἡΘΩΤΕΝ ΖΩΤΕΝ
(ΖΩΤΕΝ *in marg.*) ἡΤΕΤΕΝΨΩΠΙ ἡΜΑΥ ΝΕΜΗΙ }
- 4 ΟΥΟΖ ΦΜΑ ΑΝΟΚ Ε†ΝΑΨΕ ΝΗΙ ΕΡΟϞ ἡΘΩ-
ΤΕΝ ΤΕΤΕΝCΩΟΥΝ ἡΠΙΜΩΙΤ }
- 5 ΠΕΧΕ ΘΩΜΑC ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΠΟC ΤΕΝΕΜΙ ΑΝ }
ΧΕ ΑΚΝΑΨΕ ΝΑΚ ΕΘΩΝ ΟΥΟΖ ΠΩC ΟΥΟΝ
ΨΧΟΜ ἡΜΟΝ ΕCΟΥΕΝ ΠΙΜΩΙΤ }
- 6 ΠΕΧΕ ἡHC ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΠΙΜΩΙΤ ΝΕΜ
†ΜΕΘΜΗΙ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΩΝῃ ἡΠΑΡΕ ΖΛΙ Ι ΖΑ ΦΙΩΤ }
ΑϞΨΤΕΜΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΤ }
- 7 ΙCΧΕ ΑΤΕΤΕΝCΟΥΩΝΤ ΕΡΕΤΕΝCΟΥΕΝ ΠΑ-
ΚΕΙΩΤ } ΟΥΟΖ ΙCΧΕΝ†ΝΟΥ ΤΕΤΕΝCΩΟΥΝ
ἡΜΟϞ ΟΥΟΖ ΑΤΕΤΕΝΝΑΥ ΕΡΟϞ }
- 8 ΠΕΧΕ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΠΟC ΜΑΤΑΜΟΝ
ΕΦΙΩΤ ΟΥΟΖ ΚΗΝ ΕΡΟΝ }
- 9 ΠΕΧΕ ἡHC ΝΑϞ ΧΕ ΠΑΙCΗΟΥ ΤΗΡϞ †ΝΕΜΩ-
ΤΕΝ ΟΥΟΖ ἡΠΕΚCΟΥΩΝΤ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΕ ΦΗ ΕΤΑϞ-
ΝΑΥ ΕΡΟΙ ΑϞΝΑΥ ΕΦΙΩΤ } ΠΩC ἡΘΟΚ ΚΧΩ
ἡΜΟC ΧΕ ΜΑΤΑΜΟΝ ΕΦΙΩΤ
- 10 ΧΝΑΖ† ΑΝ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ †ΞΕΝ ΠΑΙΩΤ ΟΥΟΖ
ΠΑΙΩΤ ἡΞΗΤ }

The following variant is not given in Horner's apparatus criticus: xiv, 1 ΕΡΩΙ.

Fragment IV

Saec. xiii; 31.7 cm. × 23 cm.; one column; 26 lines to the page; no ruling; ink black; initials black; punctuation and ornamentation red. Contents: Matthew 10, 21—35 (ΟΥΩΕ [ΛΕΤ]). The leaf is much mutilated, and the number of the folio is lost. A small piece of paper containing Syriac and Arabic writing is glued to the inner margin. Found at Deir Anbâ Bishôî.

Matthew x

- 21 ΕΡΕ ΟΥCΟΝ ΔΕ ΕCΕ† ΝΟΥCΟΝ ΕΦ [ΜΟΥ] }
 ΟΥΟZ ΕΡΕ ΟΥΙΩΤ ΕCΕ† ΝΟΥΩΗΡΙ } [ΟΥΟ]Z ΕΡΕ
 ΖΑΝΩΗΡΙ ΤΩΟΥΝΟΥ ΕΧΕΝ ΝΟΥΙΟ† ΕΥΕΒΟ-
 ΒΟΥ }
- 22 ΟΥΟZ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΕΩΠΠ ΕΥΜΟCΤ ΝΜΩΤΕΝ ΝΧΕ-
 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΒΕ ΠΑΡΑΝ } ΦΗ ΔΕ ΕΘΝΑ-
 ΑΜΟΝΙ ΝΤΟΤCΨΑΕΒΟΛ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΕΘΝΑΝΟZΕΜ }
- 23 ΕΩΠΠ ΔΕ ΑΥΨΑΝΔΟΧΙ ΝCΩΤΕΝ ΉΕΝ ΤΑΙΒΑΚΙ
 ΦΩΤ Ε[.]ΚΕΟΥΙ } ΑΜΗΝ †ΧΩ ΝΜΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ }
 ΧΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΝΦΟZ ΕΜΕΩΤ ΝΙΒΑΚΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΙCΛ }
 ΨΑΤΕCΙ ΝΧΕΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΦΡΩΜΙ }
- 24 ΝΜΟΝ ΟΥΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΕCΟΥΟΤ ΕΠΕCΡΕC†CΒΩ }
 ΟΥΔΕ ΟΥΒΩΚ ΕCΟΥΟΤ ΕΠΕCΡΟC }
- 25 ΚΗΝ ΕΠΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΝΤΕCΕΡ ΝΦΡΗ† ΝΠΕCΡΕC-
 †CΒΩ } ΟΥΟZ ΠΙΒΩΚ ΝΤΕCΕΡ ΝΦΡΗ† ΝΠΕC-
 ΡΟC } ΙCΧΕ ΠΙΝΕΒΗΙ ΑΥΜΟΥ† ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΒΕΛΖΕ-
 ΒΟΥΛ } ΠΩCΟΥ (corr. ex ΠΩCΩ) ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΝΕC-
 ΡΕΜΝΗΙ }
- 26 ΝΠΕΡΕΡΖΟ† ΉΑΤΟΥΖΗ } ΝΜΟΝ ΠΕΤΖΟΒC ΓΑΡ
 ΧΕ CΝΑΔΩΡΠΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΝ } ΟΥΔΕ ΝΜΟΝ ΠΕΤ-
 ΖΗΠ ΧΕ [CΕ]ΝΑΕΜΙ ΕΡΟC ΑΝ }
- 27 ΦΗ Ε†ΧΩ ΝΜΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ ΉΕΝ ΠΧΑ[ΚΙ] ΑΧΟC

ἥΕΝ ΦΟΥΩΙΝΙ } ΟΥΟΖ ΦΗ Ε[ΤΕ]ΓΕΝ ΣΩΤΕΜ
ΕΡΟQ ἥΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΜΑΩΧ } [ΖΙΩΙ]Ω ἦΜΟQ ΖΙ-
ΧΕΝ ΝΕΤΕΝΧΕΝΕΦΩΡ }

28 ἦ[ΠΕ]ΡΕΡΖΟ† ἡΑΤΖΗ ἦΦΗ ΕΘΝΑῤΩΤΕΒ ἦΠΕ-
ΤΕΝCΩΜΑ } ΤΕΤΕΝ†ΥΧΗ ΔΕ ἦΜΟΝ ΩΧΟΜ
ἦΜΩΟΥ ΕῃΟΘΕΒΕC } ΛΡΙΖΟ† ΔΕ ἦΘΟQ ἡΑΤΖΗ
ἦΦΗ ΕΤΕΟΥΟΝ ΩΧΟΜ ἦΜΟQ } Ε††ΥΧΗ ΝΕΜ
ΠΙCΩΜΑ ΕΤΑΚΩΟΥ ἥΕΝ †ΓΕΕΝΝΑ }

29 ΜΗ ΟΥ ΔΑΧ Β̄ ΑΝ } ΕΤΟΥ† ἦΜΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ἡΑ
ΟΥΤΕΒΙ } ΟΥΟΖ ΟΥΑΙ ΕΒΟΛ ἦῤΗΤΟΥ ἦΝΕQΖΕΙ
ΖΙΧΕΝ ΠΙΚΑΖΙ } ΑΤῬΝΕ ΠΕΤΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΤῤΕΝ
ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ }

30 ἦΘΩΤΕΝ ΔΕ ΝΙΚΕQΟΙ (*litt. ω super litt. ο scripta*)
ἦΤΕΤΕΝΑΦΕ } CΕΗΠ ΤΗΡΟΥ }

31 ἦΠΕΡΕΡΖΟ† ΟΥΝ ΤΕΤΕΝΟΥΟΤ ΓΑΡ (*in marg.*)
ΕΟΥΜΗΩ ἦΔΑΧ }

32 ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἦῤΗΤ ἦΠΕΜ-
ΘΟ ἦΝΙΡΩΜΙ } †ΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἦῤ[Η]ΤQ ΖΩ
ἦΠΕΜΘΟ ἦΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤῤΕΝ ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ }

33 ΦΗ ΔΕ (ΔΕ *supra script.*) ΕΘΝΑΧΩΛΤ (*litt. ο
super litt. ω scripta*) ΕΒΟΛ ἦΠΕΜΘΟ ἦΝΙΡΩΜΙ }
†ΝΑΧΟΛQ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΩ } ἦΠΕΜΘΟ ἦΠΑΙΩΤ ΕΤῤΕΝ
ΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ }

34 ἦΠΕΡΜΕΥΙ ΧΕ ΕΤΑΠ ΕΖΙΟΥΙ ἦΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΖΙΧΕΝ
ΠΙΚΑΖΙ } ΝΕΕΤΑΠ ΕΖΙΟΥΙ ἦΟΥΖΙΡΗΝΗ ΑΝ } ΑΛΛΑ
ΟΥCΗQΙ }

35 ΑΠ ΓΑΡ ΕΦΕΡΧ ΟΥΡΩΜΙ ΕΠΕQΙΩΤ } ΟΥΟΖ
ΟΥΩΕΡΙ ΕΤΕCΜΑΥ } ΟΥΟΖ ΟΥΩΕ[ΛΕΤ]

The following variants are not given in Horner's apparatus criticus: 26 *om.* ΟΥΝ; 29 ΜΗ + ΟΥ.

Fragment V

Saec. xiv; 27.6 cm. × 20 cm.; one column; 20 lines to the page; ruling with a dull point; letters pendent; ink black; initials black; punctuation and ornamentation red. Contents: John 4, 23 ([$\bar{\mu}$]ΦΙΩΤ—35 (N̄NETEN[BAΛ])). The folio is numbered 134, and after the numeral are the words *εκ του κατα ιωαννην*. The leaf is somewhat mutilated. Found at Deir Anbâ Bishôî.

John iv

- 23 [$\bar{\mu}$]ΦΙΩΤ ΞΕΝ ΟΥΠΝᾹ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΕΘΜΗΙ } ΚΕ
ΓΑΡ ΦΙΩΤ } ΑΚΩ† $\bar{\eta}$ CA ΝΑΙΟΥΟΝ $\bar{\eta}$ ΠΑΙΡΗ†
ΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΩΨΤ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΟQ }
- 24 ΟΥΠΝᾹ ΠΕ Φ† } ΟΥΟZ ΝΗ ΕΘΟΥΩΨΤ $\bar{\eta}$ ΜΟQ
ΞΕΝ ΟΥΠΝᾹ ΝΕΜ ΟΥΜΕΘΜΗΙ }¹
- 25 ΠΕΧΕ †CZIMI ΝΑQ } ΧΕ ΤΕΝΕΜΙ ΧΕ ΜΕCΙΑC
ΝΗΟΥ } ΦΗ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥ† ΕΡΟQ ΧΕ ΠΧC } ΕΨΩΠ
ΑQΨΑΝΙ } $\bar{\eta}$ ΘΟQ ΕΘΝΑΤΑΜΟΝ ΕZΩΒ ΝΙΒΕΝ }
- 26 ΠΕΧΕ $\bar{\eta}$ HC ΝΑC } ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΠΕ ΦΗ ΕΤCΑΧΙ
ΝΕΜΕ }
- 27 ΟΥΟZ ΞΕΝ ΦΑΙ } ΑΥΙ $\bar{\eta}$ ΧΕΝΕQΜΑ-ΘΗΤHC }
ΟΥΟZ ΝΑΥΕΡΩΦΗΡΙ } ΧΕ QCΑΧΙ ΝΕΜ ΟΥCZIMI }
 $\bar{\eta}$ ΠΕ ZΑΙ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΧΟC ΝΑQ } ΧΕ ΑΚΩ† $\bar{\eta}$ CA
ΟΥ } ΙΕ ΕΘΒΕΟΥ ΚCΑΧΙ ΝΕΜΑC }
- 28 ΑCΧΩ ΟΥΝ $\bar{\eta}$ ΤΕCZΥΔΡΙΑ $\bar{\eta}$ ΧΕ†CZIMI } ΟΥΟZ
ΑCΨΕ ΝΑC Ε†ΒΑΚΙ-ΟΥΟZ ΠΕΧΑC $\bar{\eta}$ ΝΙΡΩΜΙ }
- 29 ΧΕ ΑΜΩΙΝΙ ΑΝΑΥ ΕΠΑΙΡΩΜΙ } ΕΑQΧΕ ZΩΒ
ΝΙΒΕΝ ΝΗΙ ΕΤΑΙΑΙΤΟΥ } ΜΗΤΙ ΦΑΙ ΠΕ ΠΧC }
- 30 ΝΑΥΝΗΟΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΞΕΝ †ΒΑΚΙ } ΟΥΟZ ΝΑΥ-
ΝΗΟΥ ZΑΡΟQ }
- 31 ΝΑΥ†ZΟ ΕΡΟQ ΠΕ $\bar{\eta}$ ΧΕΝΕQΜΑ-ΘΗΤHC } ΟΥ-

ΤΩΟΥ ΝΕΜΑQ [Ε]ΥΧΩ ἸΜΟC ΧΕ ΡΑΒΒΙ ΤΩΝΚ
ΟΥΩΜ ὅ

32 Ἰ-ΘΟQ ΔΕ ΠΕΧΑQ ΝΩΟΥ ὅ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΟΥΟΝ†
ΟΥῃΡΕ ἸΜΑΥ ΕΟΥΟΜC ὅ Ἰ-ΘΩΤΕΝ ΤΕΤΕΝ-
CΩΟΥΝ ἸΜΟC ΑΝ ὅ

33 ΝΑΥΧΩ ΟΥΝ ἸΜΟC ὅ ἸΝΟΥΕΡΗΟΥ ἸΧΕΝΕQ-
ΜΑ-ΘΗΤΗC ὅ ΧΕ ΜΗΤΙ ΑΝ Α ΟΥΑΙ ΙΝΙ ΝΑQ
Ε-ΘΡΕQΟΥΩΜ ὅ

34 ΠΕΧΕ ΙHC ΝΩΟΥ ὅ ΧΕ ΤΑῃΡΕ ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ὅ
ΖΙΝΑ ἸΤ[Α]ΕΡ ΦΟΥΩΩ ἸΦΗ ΕΤΑQΤΑΟΥΟΙ ὅ
ΟΥΟZ ἸΤΑΧΩΚ ἸΠΕQΖΩΒ ΕΒΟΛ ὅ

35 ΜΗ Ἰ-ΘΩΤΕΝ ΑΝ ΕΤΧΩ ἸΜΟC ὅ ΧΕ ΕΤΙ ΚΕΔ
ἸΑΒΟΤ QΝΗΟΥ ἸΧΕΠΙΩCῃ ὅ ΖΗΠΠΕ ΑΝΟΚ
†ΧΩ ἸΜΟC ΝΩΤΕΝ ὅ ΧΕ QΑΙ ἸΝΕΤΕΝ[ΒΑΛ]

The following variants are not given in Horner's apparatus criticus: 32 *om.* ΘΗ; ΤΕΤΕΝCΩΟΥΝ.

Fragment VI

Saec. xiv; 26.8 cm × 18.5 cm.; one column; 21 lines to the page; no ruling; ink black, somewhat faded; initials black; punctuation and ornamentation red. Contents: James 2, 19 ([CE]ΝΑΖ†)—23 and Acts 23, 12—16 (ΑQΙ). The folio is numbered 344, and it is torn about the edges. There is some illegible Arabic writing, apparently a lection note, in the lower right-hand margin of the recto. Found at Deir Anbâ Bishôî.

James ii

19 [CE]ΝΑΖ† ΟΥΟZ CEC-ΘΕΡΤΕΡ ὅ

20 ΧΟΥΩΩ ΔΕ ΕΕΜΙ Ω ΦΡΩΜΙ ΕΤΩΟΥΤ ὅ ΧΕ
ΠΙΝΑΖ† ΧΩΡΙC ΝΙΖΒΗΟΥΙ QΜΩΟΥΤ ὅ

21 ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΠΕΝΙΩΤ (ΙΩΤ *supra script.*) ὅ ΜΗ ΕΤΑΥ-

¹ The words CΕΜΠΩΑ ἸΤΟΥΟΥΩΩΤ ἸΜΟQ are omitted by haplography, as in Horner's codex G₂^{*}.

- ΘΜΑΙΟQ ΑΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΝΙΖΒΗΟYΙ Ξ ΕΤΑQΕΝ
 ΙCΑΑΚ ΠΕQΦΗΡΙ ΕΧΕΝ ΠΙΜΑ ΝΕΡΨΩΟΥΨΙ Ξ
 22 ΧΝΑΥ ΧΕ ΝΑΡΕ ΠΙΝΑΖ† ΕΡΖΩΒ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΖΒΗ-
 ΟYΙ Ξ ΟYΟΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΉΕΝ ΝΙΖΒΗΟYΙ Α ΠΙΝΑΖ†
 ΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ξ
 23 ΟYΟΖ ΑCΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ξ ΝΧΕ†ΓΡΑΦΗ ΘΗ ΕΤΧΩ
 ΝΜΟC Ξ ΧΕ ΑQΝΑΖ† ΝΧΕΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΕΦ† Ξ ΑYΟΠC
 ΝΑQ ΕΟYΜΕΘΜΗΙ Ξ ΟYΟΖ ΑYΜΟΥ† ΕΡΟQ Ξ ΧΕ
 ΠΩΦΗΡ ΝΦ† Ξ

Acts xxiii

ΠΡΑΞΙC ΙC ΜΒ

- 12 ΕΤΑ ΠΙΕΖΟΟΥ ΔΕ ΨΩΠΙ Ξ ΑY-ΘΩΟΥ† ΝΧΕΝΙ-
 ΙΟΥΔΑΙ Ξ ΑYΤΑΡΚΟ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΟΥ (*sic*) (*post hanc*
vocem reliquiae trium litterarum) ΕΨΤΕΜΟΥΩΜ ΟYΔΕ
 ΨΤΕΜCΩ Ξ ΨΑΤΟΥΉΩΤΕΒ ΝΠΑYΛΟC Ξ
 13 ΝΑYΕΡΖΟΥΟ ΔΕ ΝΝ ΝΡΩΜΙ ΠΕ Ξ ΝΧΕΝΗ ΕΤ-
 ΑYΙΡΙ ΝΠΑΙΑΝΑΨ Ξ
 14 ΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΑYΙ ΨΑ ΝΙΑΡΧΗΕΡΕYC Ξ ΝΕΜ ΝΙΠΡΕC-
 ΒYΤΕΡΟC Ξ ΠΕΧΩΟΥ ΧΕ ΉΕΝ ΟYΑΝΑ-ΘΗΜΑ
 ΑΝΤΑΡΚΟΝ Ξ ΕΨΤΕΜΧΕΜ†ΠΙ ΝΖΑΙ Ξ ΨΑΤΕΝ-
 ΉΩΤΕΒ ΝΠΑYΛΟC Ξ
 15 †ΝΟΥ ΟYΝ ΟYΩΝΖ ΕΠΙΧΙΛΙΑΡΧΟC Ξ ΝΕΜ ΠΙΜΑ
 Ν†ΖΑΠ (N *pro* Ν) Ξ ΖΟΠΩC ΝΝΟΥΕΝQ ΨΑΡΩ-
 ΤΕΝ Ξ ΖΩCΤΕ ΧΕ ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΜΙ ΉΕΝ ΟYΤΑΧ-
 ΡΟ ΕΘΒΗΤQ Ξ ΑΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΝΠΑΤΕQΉΩΝΤ
 ΖΑΡΩΤΕΝ Ξ ΤΕΝCΕΒΤΩΤ ΕΉΟ-ΘΒΕQ Ξ
 16 ΕΤΑQCΩΤΕΜ ΔΕ Ε†ΧΟΡΧC ΝΧΕΠΩΗΡΙ ΝΤCΩ-
 ΝΙ ΝΠΑYΛΟC Ξ ΑQΙ

The following variants are not given in Horner's apparatus criticus: Acts 23, 12 ΑYΤΑΡΚΟ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΟΥ (*sic*); *om.* ΕYΧΩ ΝΜΟC; ΨΤΕΜCΩ; 14 ΔΕ; ΝΙΑΡΧΗΕΡΕYC; 15 ΝΝΟΥΕΝQ; ΖΩCΤΕ; ΕΡΕΤΕΝΝΑΕΜΙ; ΖΑΡΩΤΕΝ.

PHILO'S EXPOSITION OF THE LAW AND HIS DE VITA MOSIS

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THE problem of Philo's Exposition of the Law and of its relation to the treatise *De vita Mosis* has, it seems to me, not yet been solved.

The Exposition is one of Philo's three great series of commentaries on the Pentateuch. It comprised originally *De opificio mundi*, *De Abrahamo*, *De Isaaco*, *De Iacobo*, *De Josepho*, *De decalogo*, *De specialibus legibus*, *De virtutibus*, and *De praemiis et poenis*, of which all are preserved but *De Isaaco* and *De Iacobo*. In contrast with the two great series called the Allegory of the Sacred Laws and the Quaestiones, the Exposition goes much less into allegory, and tells the biblical stories in extensive narrative, quoting the laws in detail in a way not attempted by the other two. That the Allegory and the Quaestiones were designed for thoughtful Jews has never been, and never could be, doubted. About the Exposition opinion has been more diverse, but since the discussion by Massebieau (1889) there has been unanimity in regarding it too as designed for Jews.

The treatise *De vita Mosis* has for nearly a century been classed in a group of miscellaneous writings, with various apologetic arguments and all addressed to gentiles. The *De vita Mosis* is different from Philo's other apologies — the fragmentary *Hypothetica*, *Adversus Flaccum*, and the *Legatio* — in its complete unconcern about refuting attacks against the Jews, and in being, rather than a polemic, an elementary introduction to the ideals of Judaism for interested outsiders through the story of Moses and of the establishment of the Jewish Law. It is different also in that it is referred to in the Exposition as representing an integral part of the argument of the Exposition. For

our purpose we may begin with these latter references, which do not seem to have been adequately appraised.

Leopold Cohn said of one of these: "Wenn im Anfang von *de caritate* auf die *Vita Mosis* hingewiesen ist, so spricht die dabei beobachtete genaue Art des Citierens gerade dafür, dass es sich um ein selbständiges und nicht derselben Schriftenreihe angehöriges Werk handelt."¹ The passage to which Cohn referred would at first sight bear him out; it is printed in his subsequent edition in *De virtutibus* 52:

Formerly, in a work of two books which I wrote on the Life of Moses, I described Moses' deeds from infancy to old age with respect to his care for and supervision of each individual and all men. But it is worth while to mention one or two things which he set in order at the time of his death.

Philo then goes on to tell the story of the appointment of Joshua as the new leader and of the death of Moses, not as a review of something already told in *De vita Mosis* but as a supplement to that work. Cohn is quite right in concluding that *De vita Mosis* is assumed to be a treatise independent of the Exposition, but he misses the fact that there is sufficient connection between the two so that Philo could assume that the reader of the Exposition would already have read the other, and hence needed merely to be provided with a supplement to the account of Moses' life in the earlier work. The Exposition makes no such assumption about any of Philo's other writings, and it seems natural to conclude that the two were in some sense companion pieces, like Luke's gospel and the Acts, in which the earlier work was independent, yet is assumed in the later work to have been read. Further Cohn does not mention the fact that in *De prae-miis et poenis* 53 ff., in a summary of the course of the entire argument of the Exposition, the points of *De vita Mosis* are given as essential links in the chain of thought, but no similar account is included of any other of Philo's treatises.

Wendland² discussed the passage from *De caritate*, ch. 1, and agrees with Cohn that *De caritate* did not belong to *De vita*

¹ 'Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos,' in *Philologus*, VII, Supplement-band, 1899, p. 417.

² 'Philo und Clemens Alexandrinus,' in *Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, pp. 435-448, especially pp. 440 f.

Mosis, but was a part of *De virtutibus* and so of the Exposition. In a note he parallels this passage with the reference in *De prae-miis et poenis* 53 ff. in order to show that neither reference implies that the treatise in which it is found is a part of *De vita Mosis* rather than of the Exposition. Cohn and Wendland were both arguing against the position of Massebieau,³ who inferred from the references to *De vita Mosis* and from the general character of the works that *De caritate*, the lost *De pietate*,⁴ *De humanitate*, and *De paenitentia* could not be parts of the Exposition (*De virtutibus*), but are "dependencies" of *De vita Mosis*. Cohn's and Wendland's arguments are entirely convincing in so far as they show that these treatises must have been parts of the Exposition. But the fact remains that in tone and style these treatises are markedly like *De vita Mosis*, and neither Cohn nor Wendland explains why in the Exposition, which they consider designed for Jewish readers, *De vita Mosis* alone of all Philo's writings is treated as an integral part of the argument.

De vita Mosis itself has a passage which is germane in this connection. Philo says of the Pentateuch:

These [the books of Moses] comprise on the one hand the historical part and on the other the part which deals with the commands and prohibitions, to which we shall come secondly, after we have first analyzed the part which stands first in order. The historical part is itself composed of the portion which treats of the creation and the genealogical portion. The genealogical portion in turn is composed of two sections dealing respectively with the punishment of the wicked and the honor destined for the righteous. But it must be explained why Moses began the law-book as he did and put the statement of the commands and prohibitions in the second place (ii. 45-47 [ch. 8]).

The discussion that follows is concerned with answering the question raised in the last sentence, namely why the legislation should have been preceded by the historical section. Moses did not write history, Philo explains, for the entertainment of his

³ 'Le Classement des Oeuvres de Philon,' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses*, Paris, I, 1889, pp. 42 ff.

⁴ On the whole Schürer's argument seems to me more convincing against the inclusion of *De pietate* than Wendland and Cohn's in its favor. In the absence of the work itself there is little more to be said on either side. See Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed., 1909, p. 671, notes 99-101, and the references there to Cohn and Wendland.

readers. The historical section was included to show that the author of the laws was the God of nature and that he who obeys the laws is following the nature of the universe (ii. 48). He then speaks, briefly and generally, of the fact that the individual laws are copies of the eternal universal patterns, and goes into more detail to show that nature sanctions the Jewish Law by rewarding the virtuous and punishing the wicked. The case of Noah and his generation is discussed at some length as an illustration of this sanction of the Law by nature, and then we come to the sudden break at which the second book of the treatise in Mangey's edition ends. That is to say, of the discussion proposed in the sentences quoted Philo has dealt only with the general introductory problem stated at the end of the above quotation, namely why the historical part should have been put before the laws, with a brief treatment of nature's sanction of the Law. The definite promise to analyze (*ἀκριβοῦν*) the historical part and then as a sequel (*δεύτερον*) go on and discuss the specific laws, is not fulfilled in *De vita Mosis*.

Schürer speaks of the passage from *De vita Mosis*.⁵ Massebieau had recognized that Philo cannot possibly have accomplished the proposed discussion without considerable space, and consequently he supposes a very large section to have been lost at the point which Mangey adopted as the end of Book ii. But Massebieau admits that *De vita Mosis* must originally have comprised two books only, as is proved by both internal and external evidence; and Schürer rightly felt that this necessarily shows the lost section to have been limited in extent. Hence Schürer is forced to hold that a long section would not have been needed to cover the ground proposed. But that cannot be admitted. Philo has promised a detailed analysis of the entire Pentateuch, and this would certainly require very considerable space. Such an extended discussion of the Law is incompatible with the structure of *De vita Mosis*. What neither Massebieau nor Schürer recognized is that the plan proposed by Philo in *De vita Mosis* for his analysis of the Pentateuch is exactly the plan of the Exposition — in substance, purpose, and method. The

⁵ *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 4th ed., 1909, III, p. 675.

matter would become simple if we were to assume that in the lost section, which then may well have been brief, Philo referred his readers to a companion document which he was about to write or was in the course of writing,⁶ namely the Exposition. In any case the fact remains that in *De vita Mosis* Philo promises to make an analysis of the Pentateuch of a kind which he actually accomplished in the Exposition.

The references, then, in *De caritate*, *De praemiis et poenis*, and *De vita Mosis* itself are best satisfied by supposing that *De vita Mosis* and the Exposition, while independent writings, were companion pieces.

An obstacle to such a conclusion is the general agreement of scholars that while *De vita Mosis* is a missionary and propaganda document designed for gentiles, the Exposition is written as a less technical presentation of Judaism than the Allegory, and designed for a less esoteric circle of Jews, but still definitely for Jews. If the two documents were thus written with different purposes and for different audiences, they can hardly have been companion pieces.

Schürer, in the second edition of his *History* (1886),⁷ is the last important scholar, so far as I know, to state explicitly that the Exposition was designed for non-jews, and to insist upon a close similarity of literary character between it and *De vita Mosis*. Massebieau's differing view⁸ rests primarily on "l'impression générale" which the Exposition made upon him; but he gave a few passages as samples of the sort of statement which had led him to infer that Philo was writing for Jews, with the warning: "Les quelques citations que je vais faire ne peuvent remplacer l'impression générale que cause la lecture de cette section." These citations must be examined. I give them ac-

⁶ According as we assume *De vita Mosis* ii. 115 to contain a reference to *De opificio mundi* or to another treatise now lost.

⁷ As represented in the English Translation, *A History of the Jewish People*, 1886, II, iii, pp. 338 and 348 f. Schürer's later change of view is mentioned in his candid and appreciative review of Massebieau in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1891, cols. 91-96. H. Leisegang, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, IV, 1930, col. 1196, merely states that the Exposition, as compared with the Allegory, is designed for a larger circle of readers, including non-jews.

⁸ 'Le Classement des Oeuvres de Philon,' p. 38, n. 3.

cording to the older enumeration he used, adding that of Cohn and Wendland's edition.

1. Dec. orac. 1 (De decalogo 1). Massebieau thinks that Philo's phrase τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔθνους implies that the reader is also Jewish. But such a use of an editorial first person plural does not at all imply that the reader is included. It is a frequent and natural usage to speak of 'our' race or 'our' family in contrast to 'yours,' and nothing in the passage prevents such an interpretation here.

2. Mon. i. 7 (De specialibus legibus i. 51-55). Massebieau feels that the exhortation "à châtier les Juifs apostats" implies a Jewish reader. But a direct exhortation to Jews is not given; Philo only says, "It is a good thing to charge all who are zealous for the truth" to smite the apostate. Indeed, in the first half of this very section the reader appears conceived far rather as gentile than as Jew. Proselytes are effusively praised as equal to those Jews who were loyal to their God-given εὐγένεια, and as worthy of receiving an equal place in all the rights and privileges of the chosen race. In contrast to both Jews and proselytes are the apostate Jews, in punishing whom "all who are zealous for the truth," that is, as the context shows, Jews and pious gentiles alike, should unite. To say the least, there is nothing here to mark the passage as designed especially for Jewish readers.

3. De praem. sacerdotum 5 (De specialibus legibus i. 153). Here, as in No. 1, the first person plural is used, and need not be taken to include the reader.

4. De sacrific. 10 (De specialibus legibus i. 314). Of this the same is to be said. The prosperity of the wicked, says Philo, is a temptation to "us" who have been bred in the true law and piety. It is notable that this statement follows again one of Philo's most ingratiating passages about proselytes (308-313).

5. The last two passages which Massebieau adduces, De septen. 9 (De specialibus legibus ii. 79 ff.) and De spec. leg. iii. 5 (De specialibus legibus iii. 29), are both addressed to a Jew direct. But both are not addressed by Philo to his own reader, but are reproductions of what Moses is supposed to have declared to the Jewish reader of the Law, and both are introduced

by *φησί* to indicate that it is Moses that is speaking. Both passages are indeed addresses to a Jew, but they are imaginary quotations from Moses, given here for the benefit of any reader whether Jew or gentile.

"Je pourrais continuer," says Massebieau. "Il fallait montrer au moins par quelques citations que M. Schürer n'a pas eu raison de dire que *l'exposition de la loi* s'adressait à des 'non-juifs'."

It is unfortunate that Massebieau did not give further examples, for the passages he gives do not at all justify his impression of the Exposition as a whole. On the other side, his position is still further weakened by the fact that the four treatises which he regarded as 'dependencies' of *De vita Mosis*, and hence suitable for an address to gentiles, have been proved to be parts of the Exposition. Yet other scholars, like Cohn,⁹ have simply accepted Massebieau's argument as conclusive without supplementing it. Even Schürer in his third (1898) and fourth edition modified the reference to "non-jews," and merely says that the Exposition is intended "einem möglichst weiten Kreise von Lesern," referring to Massebieau without further comment. Yet he insisted no less emphatically than before that *De vita Mosis* is in its entire literary character closely related to the Exposition. "As in the larger work the Mosaic legislation is expounded, so are here the life and work of the legislator himself." So far as the literary character of *De vita Mosis* is concerned, he says in another passage, it would be adapted for a place in the group of treatises which make up the Exposition.¹⁰

Schürer was unquestionably right about the literary congeniality of the two treatises, and yet he, with all other Philonic scholars, seems to have been affected by Massebieau's "impression générale." Against Massebieau one can show, as has been seen, that his passages do not justify him, but no specific passages seem to indicate definitely that Philo was addressing gentiles. But a general impression is much better founded on general characteristics than on dubious proof-texts, and some of

⁹ 'Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos,' p. 415, and *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung*, I, 219.

¹⁰ Schürer, 3rd ed., III, pp. 511, 515, and 523 f.; 4th ed., III, pp. 659, 666, and 675.

these general characteristics, particularly in contrast to the works we know as designed for Jews, may now be mentioned.

(1) In the Exposition, especially in *De Josepho*, Joseph, as a politician analogous to the Roman ruler of Egypt, is a highly admirable being, almost one of the νόμοι ἐμψυχοι, though distinctly lower than the patriarchs; in the Allegory several passages, but most extensively one in the second book of *De somniis*, depict Joseph still as a politician analogous to the Roman prefect, but as a despicable creature, a threat to all that is noble in Judaism or in nature. Massebieau and Bréhier¹¹ have recognized that Philo's attitude toward political life was different in different treatises, and have constructed a remarkable imaginary series of persecutions of the Jews to account for Philo's vacillations. When all was at peace, they explain, Philo wrote scornfully but tolerantly of the practical life of the politician; when times were bad, he regarded political activity as an evil necessity, or recommended shrinking from public life into complete asceticism. On this basis they try to date the works of Philo. It seems never to have occurred to them to try to account for Philo's differences in tone and attitude by a difference of audience addressed, or by a chronic vacillation in Philo's own temperament, or by both together. Schürer was right in rejecting Massebieau's and Bréhier's chronological constructions as fantastic, but he offered no explanation of Philo's variations to take its place. My own suggestion for a solution can be briefly stated as follows. The contrast between the politician of *De Josepho* and of *De somniis* seems easily explained if the Exposition be taken as addressed to gentiles interested in Judaism as a religion but retaining their gentile political point of view, while the Allegory, being addressed to Jews, can express, in a veiled form to be sure, the Jews' secret hatred of Roman domination. The passage in *De specialibus legibus* iii. 1 ff. is not due to a reaction against Roman rule, but reflects an inner conflict in Philo between his own natural political interest and obligation and a theoretical ascetic rejection of worldly concerns. Into this subject I hope to enter more extensively elsewhere.

¹¹ 'Chronologie de la Vie et des Oeuvres de Philon,' in *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, LIII, 1906, pp. 25-64, 164-185, 267-289.

(2) One large part of the Exposition, namely *De specialibus legibus*, which is a great analysis of the Jewish Law to show how it is in practical harmony with the gentile jurisprudence of contemporary Egypt, seems to me wholly pointless as designed for Jews. But such an argument would be highly significant for gentiles like those described above, who had a great interest in the Jewish religion but retained the point of view toward legal administration set for them by the Roman prefect and *iuridicus*. Such gentiles would be impressed, much more than loyal Jews, by the fact that the Mosaic Code could be practically harmonized with the Roman and Greek legal principles upon just those points that the *iuridicus* would have demanded from the Jews anyway.¹²

(3) The attitude of the Exposition to proselytes is significant. The Allegory mentions them virtually not at all, the Quaestiones very rarely, though at least one important passage there, to be quoted presently, does appear. But the Exposition not only makes frequent allusion to them and offers explanations adapted to them, but closes, just before the final section on sanctions, with an eager exhortation to proselytes to come inside, and an elaborate explanation that *εὐγένεια*, the high birth of which the Jew was so proud, was not a matter of descent from Abraham, but of leaving, like Abraham, false teaching and sin for piety.¹³ These passages are found in *De virtutibus*, which, as has been mentioned, Massebieau regarded as dependencies of *De vita Mosis* and as addressed to gentiles. They are no less obviously intended for gentiles now that it has been proved that they belong to the Exposition, with whose general and distinctive interest in gentiles and proselytes they are in complete accord.

(4) It is notable that in the Allegory Philo plainly indicates that for all his loyalty to the Torah its specific commands are often a heavy burden, while the truly pious will pass beyond the laws to the Law and Logos, or to God himself. Perhaps this attitude is implicit in the *νόμοι ἐμψυχοι* of the Exposition, but it would never be suspected from that document alone. Outspoken

¹² See my *Jewish Jurisprudence in Egypt*.

¹³ The treatises *De paenitentia* and *De nobilitate*, in *De virtutibus* 175-227.

scorn for and rejection of the literal meaning of the Scriptures, such as appear in the Allegory, are totally lacking in the Exposition. Such an attitude toward the Holy Oracles, Philo seems to have felt, was too advanced for beginners and outsiders.¹⁴

(5) The Allegory assumes throughout that the reader, as a Jew, is so familiar with the Scriptures as to need only allusions, while the Exposition mentions nothing about the Scriptures or Judaism without explanation. It tells the stories of the Pentateuch with freedom and detail, apparently assuming that the reader has never heard them; it treats the religious customs of the Jews as quite unfamiliar to the reader and describes them. For example, it is hard to imagine a Jew in Alexandria of any level who would need to be told the following:

But while [on the Sabbath] the Law forbids bodily labor, it requires the better types of activity, which are those carried on by words and teachings with respect to virtue. For it enjoins the spending of that time in philosophizing for the improvement of the soul and the dominant mind. So on the Sabbath there stand open throughout all cities ten thousand places of instruction in prudence, self-control, courage, justice, and the other virtues, in which the people sit quietly and in order, with ears alert and all attention by reason of their thirst for the refreshing words, while one of those more skilled stands and expounds the noblest, helpful principles by which the whole life shall advance to better things (*De specialibus legibus* ii. 61 f.).

The reader of this passage has apparently never even attended a synagogue service, and the fact that such an explanation was designed for a gentile becomes even more striking when it is recalled that the two other passages in Philo which describe the synagogue in almost exactly the same words are to be found in *De vita Mosis* ii. 215 f., and in the *Apology* (*Hypothetica*) as preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. evang.*, viii. 7 (359d), both of which are admittedly addressed to gentiles.

A difficulty arises from the fact that what are now accepted as the concluding sections of *De praemiis et poenis* (§§ 79 ff.; in the edition of Cohn set off with the sub-titles, *De benedictionibus* and *De execrationibus*) are explicable only as de-

¹⁴ Massebieau and Bréhier (note 10 above), pp. 182 ff., develop the contrast on this point between the Exposition and the Allegory. As they explain all other contrasts in Philo as coming from different periods of his life, so they do here, and as usual unconvincingly.

signed for Jews. Jewish feeling on the part of the reader, his loyalty to the race, and his consequent love of the racial traditions and abhorrence of apostasy are everywhere assumed. If these must be kept as parts of the Exposition, the foregoing argument must be fallacious. But the fact is that their claim to be considered a part of *De praemiis et poenis* is at best tenuous, and seems to me to be essentially ill founded.

De praemiis et poenis, which was obviously intended as what Schürer calls an 'epilogue' to the Exposition, begins with a survey of the entire preceding argument, and then discusses the rewards of the faithful, taking the rewards earned by the great patriarchs as a model. This section is completed, and Philo turns to the punishments. A passage is devoted to Cain, who was punished by being put into a state whereby he was always *in articulo mortis*, and then Philo begins with Korah and his company, whose punishment typified that visited upon households; but the book suddenly breaks off. The manuscripts go on, with no sign of a break, to what Cohn identified as another treatise, *De benedictionibus*, which itself ends with the statement that, having completed the matter of blessings, the author will go on to discuss curses. Here, according to the manuscripts, *De praemiis et poenis* is finished. A short treatise, quite separate in the manuscripts, is preserved with the title *De execrationibus*. This is indubitably the discussion to which Philo referred at the end of *De benedictionibus*, and so Cohn has correctly joined the two in his edition.¹⁵ All of this material is thus put by Cohn under the title *De praemiis et poenis*, as a single treatise with three, or four, divisions, and his judgement has been accepted by Schürer¹⁶ and Heinemann.¹⁷ The possibility does not seem to have occurred to anyone that *De benedictionibus*, which thrusts itself so awkwardly into the text, may not belong to *De praemiis et poenis* at all, but may be another treatise put in with *De praemiis et poenis* by a copyist because the ending of that treatise had been lost or omitted,

¹⁵ See the introduction to volume V, pp. xxviii f.

¹⁶ Schürer, 4th ed., 1909, p. 674.

¹⁷ In the publication begun under the editorship of L. Cohn and continued by Heinemann, *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung*, II, 381.

and this treatise, with a similar subject matter, was at hand to fill the gap. So far as the manuscript tradition goes, it is as justifiable to move *De benedictionibus* out of its setting and join it with *De execrationibus* as it is to move the latter over into *De praemiis et poenis*. And certainly one or the other has to be moved.

The external testimony to *De benedictionibus* is slight and ambiguous. It is quoted with a title twice by John of Damascus in the *Sacra Parallela*. The passage, p. 357, 5 ff. of Cohn's edition of *De benedictionibus*, appears in two manuscripts of the *Sacra Parallela* with the simple introduction *Φίλωνος*, but in a third manuscript at the same passage with the caption *Φίλωνος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ ἁθλων καὶ ἐπιτιμιῶν*; the passage, pp. 359, 18 to 360, 4, is quoted in three manuscripts of the *Sacra Parallela*, in one with the introduction *Φίλωνος*, in two with *Φίλωνος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐλογιῶν*. From these facts the only possible conclusion seems to be that in the manuscript used by John himself the two treatises, *De praemiis et poenis* and *De benedictionibus*, were united, but that the second treatise retained its original title, which has disappeared from our manuscripts of Philo but been restored by Cohn. *De execrationibus* is not quoted by any ancient writer. Eusebius does not quote any one of the three treatises, but gives the title *περὶ τῶν προκειμένων ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἁθλων, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐπιτιμιῶν καὶ ἁρῶν*.¹⁸ Cohn argues, since he wants to include *De execrationibus* as part of *De praemiis et poenis*, that the title as Eusebius had it was really *περὶ ἁθλων καὶ ἐπιτιμιῶν καὶ ἁρῶν*. One's first response to this suggestion is that to make Eusebius refer to a work of three divisions, when his *μὲν . . . δέ* so obviously implies a two-fold division, is a violation of Eusebius' Greek that needs considerable justification. I see no reason why Eusebius' form of the title should not be the one Philo himself gave to *De praemiis et poenis* apart from the other two treatises, for the doublet *ἐπιτιμιῶν καὶ ἁρῶν* is quite in accord with Philo's custom always to use two words when possible instead of one, and the text, when it turns to discuss penalties in the section still indubitably a part of *De praemiis et poenis*, actually is

¹⁸ Eusebius, H. E. ii. 18, 5.

concerned with the curse (ἀρά) of Cain (§ 72). To see in Eusebius' title a reference to the treatise *περὶ ἀρῶν* is only justified by the scholar's desire to do so. So Eusebius' form of the title still leaves open the question of the inclusion of the two sub-treatises as parts of *De praemiis et poenis*. As to these treatises, accordingly, we have only the witness of John of Damascus, which has led us to conclude that, in his manuscript of Philo, *De benedictionibus* was combined with *De praemiis et poenis*, but had a distinctive title. Since *De praemiis et poenis* is so obviously mutilated at § 78, just where *De benedictionibus* begins, the possibility seems to me open, so far as external testimony goes, that a process of absorption had begun at least by the time John's manuscript of Philo was composed, a process by which *De benedictionibus* had been taken into *De praemiis et poenis*, but which had not yet reached the stage represented by our manuscripts, where the original title of the absorbed treatise has disappeared.

The propriety of considering *De benedictionibus* and *De execrationibus* as parts of *De praemiis et poenis* is thus thrown entirely upon internal testimony.

De benedictionibus opens (§§ 79–84) with an appeal to the reader to obey the laws carefully, based upon the statement in Deut. 30, 10–14 that the Law should be in the Jew's mouth, heart, and hands. In discussing the passage Philo begins with the tenth verse, and makes the whole refer to the *ἐντολαὶ καὶ προστάγματα*. As a Jew to Jews he is promising in the messianic age deliverance from enemies, brute beasts as well as all hostile men. With this deliverance he promises authority over other peoples, wealth and prosperity so that the Jews will become the bankers of the world, and a sure line of succession so that no Jewish man or woman will be left without children. He who adheres to the holy laws will have a fulness of life, not only in quantity but quality (§§ 111–117), and will even be protected from disease (§§ 118 ff.). "These are the *εὐχαί* for good men, who fulfil the laws in their actions," Philo concludes (§ 126). Repentance is mentioned, but it is the repentance of the erring Jew who is called back to the true life from having been led astray by pleasure.

As God can easily by a single command gather together men who are scattered in the ends of the earth, bringing them back from the uttermost limits to whatever single place he may choose,

so he can bring back the lost soul into the true path (§ 117).

De exsecrationibus goes on with the reverse side of the picture in exactly the same way. Long and vivid sections are devoted to the poverty and ruin (§§ 127–136), the enslavement to gentiles (§§ 137–142), the bodily diseases of all kinds (§§ 143–147), the complete loss of spirit (§§ 148, 151), the exposure to wild beasts (§ 149), which God will bring upon Jews who do not keep his laws (§§ 138, 142). The upright proselyte (immigrant, *ἐπὴλυς*) will be a shame to the Jews who have corrupted the coinage of their *εὐγένεια* (§ 152) and must watch these outsiders taking the rewards designed for themselves. All the Jew's feeling of superiority is manifest in this reference to proselytes. Philo specifies some of the laws the breaking of which will bring such destruction. They are first the failure to observe the sabbatical year of the fields and the sabbath, violation of the salt and truce,¹⁹ and of the altar of mercy and the common hearth.²⁰ The great emphasis laid upon the sabbatical rest for the soil suggests that Philo had farmers especially in mind as his audience. The virtues are briefly mentioned as the ideal (§ 160), but Philo then turns again to the laws the violation of which is to be followed by horrible catastrophe, and this time he inveighs especially (§ 162) against leaving the laws altogether to adopt polytheistic opinions (*πολύθεοι δόξαι*). A call to repentance is given, which is again a return of the wanderer to the fold and will be followed by the gathering together of the scattered and enslaved Jews. Their virtues will make their masters flee from them in fear (§§ 164 ff.). In this will be made manifest the mercy of God, the power of the founders of the nation as intercessors with God for their descendants, and

¹⁹ These refer to the obligations of hospitality, joined in that connection in *De specialibus legibus* iii. 96.

²⁰ The altar of mercy and common hearth can only refer to the household hearth of refuge which Alexandrine Jews seem to have brought into Judaism from Greek custom. See Heinemann's note ad loc. in *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria in deutscher Übersetzung*, and my *Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt*, pp. 53 ff.; also Heinemann, *Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung*, pp. 344 f.

the trueness of their repentance by which they now please God as sons do a father (§§ 166 f.). Then the dignity and prosperity of the race will be restored and vindicated before all men.

The strong messianic fervor of these treatises, their intense Jewish patriotism, and above all the emphasis upon the importance for good or ill of the specific and literal laws, are unique in Philo's writings. Yet this is so much in accord with the type of Jewish pride and loyalty which Philo manifests toward the race and the laws in *In Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium* that there is no reason to doubt that it is the sort of popular address Philo would have made to an assembly of his countrymen.

That such a peroration could have concluded the Exposition is another matter. The *μετάνοια* he is urging in the Exposition is not that of the wanderer returning to the fold, but that of one who, having been brought up in heathenism, changes over to become a servant of God. If men will repent in this sense, God promises them citizenship in the noblest *πολιτεία* (*De virtutibus* 175). The repentance he here visualizes is that of the immigrants (*ἐπηλύται*, § 182), whose chief business in repenting is to forsake the training which their early teachers gave them (§ 178). They are contrasted with apostates, who abandon their holy laws (§ 182), but when Philo explains these holy laws, he turns to the same passage in Deut. 30 with an entirely different interpretation from that in *De benedictionibus*. For in *De virtutibus* he omits verse 10 with its reference to *ἐντολαί*, and makes the invitation in the passage not to loyalty to the specific and individual commands, but to a life of virtue such as the true worship of God found in Judaism inculcates. *De praemiis et poenis* is animated by exactly the same spirit. The Judaism that is finally being approved in the great sanctions of rewards and punishments has not the slightest reference to obedience to detailed commands, but is the Judaism which looks primarily to the patriarchs; by imitating their characters and their attitude toward God, and by sharing their spirit, men may hope for the same rewards as they. The patriarchs appeared in *De execrationibus*, but as heavenly intercessors, not as models and present working influences in men's lives. The specific laws are not repudiated in any part of the Exposition;

on the contrary Philo goes to great lengths, too great lengths as Heinemann rightly thinks,²¹ in defending them. But having defended them he can now safely ignore them, so as to conclude with what he has had in mind throughout, a philosophic and mystical Judaism in which they have no essential place. From this elaborately developed structure, it is unthinkable that Philo, after any conceivable sort of transitional paragraphs, could have turned to such an address to Jews as *De benedictionibus* and *De execrationibus*.

My own guess is that the Christian copyists who have preserved our manuscript tradition of Philo from long before the time of John of Damascus, found the ending of *De praemiis et poenis* too strong an invitation to Judaism to keep. They dropped it out, and concealed the omission (or filled out a folio) by putting *De benedictionibus* in its place, at first preserving the original title of that treatise, but later omitting even this. But by whatever chance the change occurred, *De benedictionibus* and *De execrationibus* cannot have been parts of the *Exposition*.

The *Exposition* is thus more intelligible throughout when, in contrast with the writings designed for Jews, it is recognized to have been written for gentiles. In that case the last objection disappears to the thesis that the *Exposition* and *De vita Mosis* were companion pieces. They are similar in literary character and in that respect present the same contrasts to the writings designed for Jews. *De vita Mosis* forecasts the argument of the *Exposition*, and the *Exposition* includes *De vita Mosis* in its summary of the points covered.

De vita Mosis was written, it is my conclusion, to serve as the first presentation of the Jewish point of view to be given to a gentile who showed genuine interest in the Jews but as yet knew little about them. To a gentile less open minded would probably have been offered the *Hypothetica* in order to disabuse his mind of prejudices instilled by opponents of the Jews. However that may be, *De vita Mosis* was ready for those interested and sympathetic. If the treatise succeeded in its purpose, it would awaken an interest in the reader to go on to the more

²¹ Philons griechische und jüdische Bildung, pp. 572-574.

detailed exposition of the Pentateuch suggested in *De vita Mosis* itself. To meet this latter, more advanced, gentile demand Philo wrote the *Exposition*. This explained first the relation of God to the world and to the Mosaic Code, and then passed on to the great νόμοι ἐμψυχοι who were the real saviours of Judaism; then, omitting the life of Moses as already covered, it proceeded to the decalogue, in which the principles of the laws of nature were expressed, and next to the specific laws, as highly workable practicable statutes not only in harmony with natural law and the decalogue, but entirely observable under Greek and Roman administration. The ritual law, on the other hand, was shown to represent the ideal mystery-religion, of cosmic rather than national significance. The argument was concluded by a demonstration of the place of some of the great hellenistic virtues in the system, an exhortation to gentiles to be converted, and a review of the entire argument, including *De vita Mosis*, closing with a statement of the sanctions of the Jewish system, as here interpreted, in divine rewards and punishments.

De vita Mosis and the *Exposition* together are a body of evidence for the character of Jewish propaganda among gentiles of much greater importance than has been appreciated. A careful analysis of them from that point of view would teach us much about the actual religious position of 'God-fearers' and proselytes ²² in the Hellenistic-Roman World.

²² Philo does not himself make this familiar distinction. His 'proselytes' need not be circumcized: see *Quaestiones in Exodum* ii. 2; R. Harris, *Fragments of Philo Judaeus*, p. 49.

AN ARMENIAN VERSION OF ATHANASIUS'S LETTER TO EPICTETUS

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THE following Armenian text of Athanasius's Letter to Epictetus is found in two manuscripts of the Mechitarists at Vienna:¹

A. Cod. 629, ff. 66a-73b, 19th century, notragir, copied from an 18th century archetype at Ispahan.

B. Cod. 648, ff. 102b-105b, paper, 14th century,² bolorgir, without word division and badly worm-eaten.

The version is different from that published by Tajezi,³ and belongs to an Armenian corpus of Athanasian writings compiled early in the eighth century.⁴ I have added a collation with Ludwig's edition of the Greek,⁵ but have deliberately refrained from discussing at length its relation to other textual authorities. Before this can be done to advantage a wider study of the

¹ See Harvard Theological Review, XXIV, 1931, pp. 43 ff. This version was apparently printed in 1711 at Constantinople in a rare volume of patristic treatises, containing also Cyril of Alexandria's Scholia on the Incarnation. (See Tajezi, p. 324, n. 7; F. C. Conybeare, *Armenian Version of Revelation*, London, 1907, pp. 166-167.) Tajezi says that it was made from the Latin, but this is linguistically and historically quite improbable.

² Cf. N. Akinian, 'Eine neuentdeckte Schrift des Katholikos Johannes Odznetzi De Incarnatione Verbi' [in Armenian], in Huschardzan, *Festschrift aus Anlass des 100-jährigen Bestandes der Mechitaristen-Kongregation in Wien*, Vienna, 1911, p. 336.

³ S. Athanasii Sermones, etc. [in Armenian], Venice, 1899, pp. 324-343. This version is quoted in full in 'The Seal of Faith,' a seventh-century dogmatic catena, published by Karapet Ter-Mekerttschian, Etschmiadzin, 1914 (cf. J. Lebon, 'Les citations patristiques grecques du "Sceau de la Foi,"' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 1929, p. 8), and in part in Sahak's polemic against the Nestorians (*Liber epistolarum*, Tiflis, 1901, p. 452), composed about the same period, cf. E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zu den syrischen Kirchen*, Texte und Untersuchungen, N. F. XI, pp. 136-137.

⁴ Harvard Theological Review, XXIV, 1931, pp. 53-54, 58.

⁵ G. Ludwig, *Athanasii Epistula ad Epictetum* (Jena dissertation), 1911.

Greek manuscripts must be made,⁶ the Syriac version⁷ should be published and recollated, and account must be taken of the Latin recently edited by Schwartz.⁸ Tajezi's text should be supplemented by the variants from the 'Seal of Faith,' and an investigation of the textual value of that loose and paraphrastic version must be made.⁹ It will be seen from the collation that the Vienna text offers no consistent agreement with any of Ludwig's manuscripts, and in this respect agrees with Tajezi's version. Unlike the latter, however, it is a smooth, literal rendering of the Greek, presenting no special difficulties to the collator.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1931, pp. 49 ff.

⁷ British Museum Add. 14557, parchment, 7th century, pp. 154-161; Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, II, p. 719. A collation by Hilgenfeld and Lietzmann was used by Ludwig, p. 44. My thanks are due the British Museum authorities for photographs of the manuscript.

⁸ E. Schwartz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, I, 5, pars altera, pp. xvii, 321 ff.

⁹ I hope shortly to publish a study of Tajezi's version.

Նորին սրբոյ Աթանասի առ Եպիկտետոս Եպիսկոպոսն
Կորնթացւոց, յաղագս ուղղափառ հաւատոյ, ընդդի-
մադրութիւն սակս յարուցելոց ոմանց հաառակ ճշմա-
րիտ սրբոյ հաւատոյս:

1. Ես այսպէս վարկանէի, եթէ ամենայն ընդունայ-
նաբանութիւնք բոլորիցս, որչափ եւ իցեն հերձուա-
ծողք, լռեալ դադարեցին ի լինել մեծի ժողովոյն
Նիկիայ, քանզի որ ՚ի նմա <ի> հարցն ըստ աստուածե-
ղէն գրոց խոստովանեալ եղեւ հաւատ, բաւական էր առ 5
՚ի վանումն ամենայնից ամբարշտութեանց և ի հաս-
տատութիւն որ ի Քրիստոսն բարեպաշտ հաւատոյս:
Քանզի սակս այսորիկ և այժմ ի զանազան տեղիս
եղեալ ժողովոց ի Գալլեայ և ի Սպանիայ եւ ի մեծն
Հռովմ, բոլորից ի միասին գումարեալք, զայնոսիկ, որ 10
ի ծածուկն զԱրիոսին խորհին, զՕքսէնտիոս ասեմ և
զՄեդիոդանացիս եւ զՈւրսակսէս և զՎաղէնտինոս և
զԳալիոս Սպանիացի, ամենայն միաբանութեամբ, որ-
պէս առ ի միոյ հոգւոյ շարժեալք, նզովեցին և գրե-
ցին ամենայն ուրեք յաղագս այսպիսեացս ոյք զմտաւ 15
ածիցեն իմանալ ինքեանց անուանս ժողովոց, և ոչ մի՛
<ի> կաթուղիկէ եկեղեցւոյ ժողով անուանել, բայց
միայն զեղեալն ի Նիկիայ, յաղթող գոլ ամենայն հեր-
ձուածոց և մանաւանդ Արիանոսաց, վասն որոյ և ժո-
ղովն իսկ եղեւ: Զիա՞րդ ապա յետ այսորիկ և զայս- 20
չափ իրաց գրել և յուզել ոմանք ձեռնարկեն: Իսկ արդ-

Title եպտիտ A եպպետի B, cf. Liber Epistolarum p. 452. 26 եպիկտիդոն
and եպիկտիմոն, եպիքտեթոն of Tajezi's mss., Tajezi p. 324 n. 1.
եպիսկոպոս A

The title in B is very defective owing to mutilation of the page: Նորին ա ...
ա եպպե''տի Աղեքս... եպն Կորնթուցւոց յղդ ... սակս յարուցելոց ոմ ...
հաւատ...

յարուցելոյ A

Կորնթուցւոց B

1 վարկանէի pag. mut. B

2 իցե<ն> pag. mut. B հերձուածոց B

3 լռել B

4 om որ A աստուած<եղ>էն pag. mut. B

5 խոսչտոյվան pag. mut. B

է<ր> pag. mut. B

6 վ<ան>ում<ն> pag. mut. B

<ամե>նայնից pag. mut. B <հաստա>տութիւն

pag. mut. B

7 <ի> pag. mut. B

9 Գալլեայ B Գալլիէայ A

om եւ B bis

10 Հռոմ B

13 Սպանացի B

14 om ի B

20 այսչափ B

եթէ յԱրիանոսացն իցեն, ոչինչ է սքանչելի, քանզի
 դհակառակ ինքեանց զրեալսն անգոսնեցին, զոր օրինակ
 հեթանոսք լսելով ի մէնջ թէ կուռք հեթանոսաց ոսկի և
 արծաթ են, զործք ձեռաց մարդկան, յիմարութիւն 25
 կարծէին զյաղապս խաչին վարդապետութիւն: Ապա
 եթէ ի կարծելոցն ուղիղ հաւատալ և սիրել զառ ի հարցն
 ծանուցեալսն զոն ոյք ի ձեռն բաղմախուզութեանն
 անդր ի նա չըջիլ կամեալք, ոչ այլ ինչ առնեն բայց ըստ
 գրեցելումն ընկերին արքուցանեն հրապոյրս պղտորս, 30
 բանակոտեալք յոչինչ պէտս առ ի կործանումն լսողաց:

2. Ձայս այսպէս <գրեմ>, հանդիպեալ որոց առ ի
 քումմէ աստուածաշտուութենէդ ձեռ<ա>գործեալ գրե-
 ցելոցն զոր ոչ պարտ էր գրել, որպէս զի մի՛ ինք յիշա-
 տակ սոցա զկնի այսոցիկ լինիցի: Քանզի ո՞վ ոք իսկ 35
 լուաւ զայսպիսիս ուրեք կամ ո՞վ որ ուսոյց կամ ու-
 սաւ, վասն զի «օրէնք», ասէ, «ի Սիոնէ ելցէ և բան
 Տեառն յերուսաղէմէ»: Իսկ այս հուր դառնութեան
 ուստի՞ ել, կամ ո՞ր դժոխք զգայոցցին միասնական
 ասել զառ ի Մարիամայ մարմինն՝ բանի Աստուածու- 40
 թեան, կամ թէ բանն ի մարմին և յոսկերս և ի մազ
 չըջեցաւ և ի բոլոր իսկ մարմին և այլայլեցաւ յիւրմէ
 բնութենէ: Ո՞վ իսկ լուաւ յեկեղեցւոյ կամ բնաւ իսկ
 ի Քրիստոնէից՝ եթէ գրութեամբ և ոչ բնութեամբ
 մարմին զգեցաւ Տէր. կամ ո՞վ այսչափ ամբարշտեաց, 45
 որպէս զի ասել միանգամայն և խոկալ՝ իսկ եթէ նոյն
 ինքն համարնականն Հօր Աստուածութիւն թլխատե-
 ցաւ և անկատար ի կատարելութենէ եղեւ, և կամ որ ի

27 կարծեկացն B սիրելն B դառ] առ B

28 գոն] գուլ A բաղմախուզութեանն pag. mut. B

29 <անդր...ինչ> pag. mut. B <բայց...ընկերին> pag. mut. B

30 պղտորս pag. mut. B

31 բանահոռեալք pag. mut. B

32 զ<այս> pag. mut. B <ա>յսպէս pag. mut. B om որոց B <աստ-
 ու>ծաղաշտութենէդ pag. mut. B աստուածսիրութենէդ A

33 գրելոցն B 34 էր պարտ B յեշատակ B

35 om զկնի B լիւնից>ի B om ոք իսկ B

36 զայսապիսիս B <ուրեք> pag. mut. B

37 <ա>սէ pag. mut. B Սիւրնէ A

38 om այս հուր դառնութեան B

39 om կամ B գայրեցին B ասել միասնական B

40 Մարիամայն A մար<մ>ինն pag. mut. B 48 եղեալ B

փայտին բեւեռեալ ոչ մարմինն էր, այլ բոլորակեր-
 տողն բնութիւն իմաստութեան: Ո՞վ իսկ լսելով՝ եթէ 50
 ոչ ի Մարիամայ այլ առ ի ինքեանն բնութենէ շրջեալ
 արար իւր չարչարելի մարմին բանն Աստուծոյ, կամ
 ո՞ր Քրիստոնէի է ասել զայս. կամ ո՞վ զանաստուածս
 զայս իմացաւ զամպարչտութիւն, իբր սոսկ միայն
 զմտաւ ածել և ասել՝ թէ որ ի Մարիամայ գոլ ասէ զտի- 55
 րականն մարմին, ոչ ևս երրորդութիւն այլ չորրոր-
 դութիւն յԱստուածութեանն իմանայ, որպէս զի վասն
 այսորիկ որք այնպէսն խորհին բնութեան երրորդու-
 թեանն ասել զմարմինն զոր զգեցաւ փրկիչն: Ո՞ւստի
 դարձեալ փոխեցին ոմանք հաւասար կանխասացելոցն 60
 ամպարչտութիւն, իբր զի ասել՝ ոչ կրսեր գոլ զմար-
 մինն բանի Աստուածութեանն, այլ մշտնջենաւորա-
 կից գոլ մարմնոյ յարամիչտ, որպէս թէ առ ի բնութե-
 նէ իմաստութեան ցուցելոյ: Ո՞րպէս իսկ բնաւ յուզել
 իշխեցին ասացեալքն Քրիստոնեայք՝ թէ որ առ ի Մա- 65
 րիամայն յարաջեկեալ Տէր որդի բնութեամբ և էու-
 թեամբ է Աստուծոյ, իսկ ըստ մարմնոյ ի զաւակէ
 Դաւթի է ի մարմնոյ սրբոյն Մարիամայ: Ո՞յք ապա
 այնպէս իշխեցին յանդգնել որպէս զի ասել՝ զՔրիստոս
 մարմնով խաչեալ և չարչարեալ ոչ գոլ Տէր և Փրկիչ 70
 և Աստուած և որդի հօր. կամ ո՞րպէս Քրիստոնեայք
 կամին կոչել ոյք ասենն՝ թէ ի մարդ սուրբ, որպէս առ
 մի ոք ի մարգարէիցն, զալ զբանն, այլ ոչ զնոյն ինքն
 լինել մարդ՝ առնելով մարմին ի Մարիամայ, այլ այլ
 ոմն գոլ զՔրիստոս և այլ զԱստուծոյ որդին և զբանն, 75
 զորնախ քան զՄարիամ և յառաջ քան զյաւիտեանս որդի
 ելով հօր. կամ ո՞րպէս կարեն լինել Քրիստոնեայք ոյք
 ասենն՝ այլ ոմն գոլ զորդին և այլ զԱստուծոյ բանն եւ:

49 բոլորակ<ե>րտաւղն pag. mut. B 50 բնութեան A

51 om այլ A բնութենէ B, del. է man. rec. add.

53 om է B 54 ամպարչտութիւն B om միայն A

58 այնորիկ B այնպէս B երրորդութեան A

61 ամպարչտութեան A om զի A աս<ել>...աստուածութեանն> pag. mut. B

62 մշտնջենաւոր<ակից>...թէ առ> pag. mut. B

64 իմաստութեան...բ>նաւ pag. mut. B իսկ post բնաւ B

65 om առ B 68 ապա> pag. mut. B

70 խաչ<եալ և> pag. mut. B 72 խոչիւ B

73 գոլ B 75 որդի B 78 ասեն B om գոլ B

3. Այս ամենայն գոյր ի գրեալսն ասացեալ զանա-
 զանաբար, ունելով զմի և զնոյն միտս, յամբարշտու- 80
 թիւն հայեցեալ և յաղագս այնորիկ յուզեալք դատէին
 զմիմեանս մեծաբանեալք ի վերայ հարցն խոստովանու-
 թեան որ ի նիկիայ եղեալ: Իսկ ես յոյժ զարմացայ վասն
 անսալոյն քոյոյ բարեպաշտութեանդ և զի ոչ դադարե-
 ցուցեր զասացողսն այսոցիկ և զբարեպաշտութեանն ա- 85
 ւանդեցեր նոցա հաւատ, զի թերեւս լուեալք կամ լուեալք
 դադարեսցեն կամ ընդդիմաբանեալք որպէս հերձուա-
 ծողք կարծեսցին. վասն զի յառաջասացեալքն ոչ ճառելի
 և ոչ լսելի են Քրիստոնէից, այլ օտար ամենայն օրինա-
 կաւ և յառաքելականն վկայութեանն և վարդապետու- 90
 թեան: Վասն այսորիկ ապա և ես զյաղագս այսպիսեացս
 մերկ և յայտնի արարի գրել ի թղթիդ, որպէս զի միայն
 լսելով քո տեսցէ զառ ի նոսա ամօթն և ամբարշտու-
 թիւն և, թէ պարտ էր, եւս ի ձեռն յոլովից ամբաստա-
 նել <և> յանդիմանել զանզգամութիւն իմացողացն զայ- 95
 սոսիկ: Այլ բարիոք և բաւական է մինչեւ զայս վայր լի-
 նել թղթոյս և մի' ինչ աւելի քան զայս գրել, քանզի
 այսպէս յայտնաբար զեկուցեալ զվատթառսն առաւել
 մերկացուցանել և քննել ոչ է պարտ, զի մի' վիճաբա-
 նիցն շատախօսութիւն կարծեւ<ս>ցի: Բայց միայն զայս 100
 պատասխանիս առնել առ այնպիսիսն և ասել՝ եթէ չատ-
 է, զի ոչ է այս կաթողիկէ եկեղեցի և ոչ զայս հարքն ա-
 ւանդեցին. այլ զի մի' յառաւել լուութենէ մերմէ պատ-

80 զմի] զնմին B

81 այսորիկ B

84 բարեպաշտութեանդ] աստուածապաշտութեանդ A

85 զբարեպաշտութեան B աւանդեցեն B

86 om թերեւս B լուծեալք A լուել B

87 դադարեցին A 88 կարծիցին A

89 om ոչ B օրինակաւ + է A 90 առաքելականն B

91 այսպիսեացն A 92 թղթի A

93 դառ ի ... ամբարշտութիւն non pot. leg. pag. mut. B

94 պար<ս> pag. mut. B էր ... իմացողացն non pot. leg. pag. mut. B
 ամբաստանեալ յոնդիմանեալք A

95 <զ>այսոսիկ pag. mut. B

96 <եւ> pag. mut. B է ... վայր non pot. leg. pag. mut. B

97 զ<այս գրե>լ pag. mut. B 98 զվատթարն A

100 շատախօսութիւն կարծիցի pag. mut. B

101 առ<ն>ել pag. mut. B

102 զայս post հարքն A

103 առաւել A om մերմէ B

ճառս անամօթութեան իւրեանց կարկատեսցեն գտիչքն
չարեաց, բարիոք է սակաւ և սուղ ինչ առ ի յաստուա- 105
ծեղէն գրոց յիշատակել. զի գէթ այսպէս պատկառեալք
լռեալ դադարեսցեն յաղտեղի այնոցիկ խորհրդոց:

4. Ո՞ստի է ձեզ ասել՝ ո՞վ այդպիսիքդ, միասնա-
կան գոլ զմարմինն բանի աստուածութեանն. քանզի 110
բարիոք է աստուատ սկսանել, զի զայսոսիկ ծանուցա-
նելով անպիտան գոլ և այլն ամենայն այնպիսի ցուցցի:
Արդ յաստուածեղէն գրոց ոչ է գտանել, քանզի զԱստ-
ուած ի մարդկեղէն մարմնի լինել ասեն. այլ և հարքն
ժողովեալք ի Նիկիայ ոչ զմարմինն այլ զորդին ասացին
միասնական հօր և զնոյն ասացին ի բնութենէ հօր. իսկ 115
զմարմինն ի Մարիամայ ասացին գոլ դարձեալ ըստ
գրոց: Իսկ ապա թէ ուրանայք որ ի Նիկիայ ժողովն,
որպէս հերձուածողք զայդ ի ներքս մուծանէք. ապա
եթէ կամիք որդիք հարցն լինել, մի՛ ինչ աւելիս խոր-
հիք քան զոր նոքայն գրեցին: Քանզի անտեղիս ըզ- 120
ձեզ աստուատ է տեսանել՝ զի եթէ միասնական է բանն
մարմնոյն, յերկրէս ունելով զբնութիւնն, և միասնա-
կան ահա է բանն հօր ըստ հարցն խոստովանութեան,
միասնական ապա ուրեմն է և ինքն հայր մարմնոյն եղե-
լոյ յերկրէս: Եւ զի՞ ևս անգոսնէք զԱրիանոսսն ասելով՝ 125
զՏէրն ստացուած, ասելովդ՝ ձեզ՝ զՀայր միասնական
ստացուածոյ և այլ <ի> ամպարչտութիւն յեղափոխեալ
անկայք ասելով՝ ի մարմին և յոսկերս և ի ջիւս և ի
բոլոր իսկ մարմնոյն բնութիւն յեղափոխել բանին և այ-

104 կատարեսցին գտիչն A

106 յիշատեալ A

109 աստուածութեան A

110 այսոսիկ A

112 աստուածեղէն A

114 զորդի A

115 om եւ զնոյն ... հօր B

119 <կամիք որդիք> pag. mut. B լինել + եւ B աւելի B

120 քանզի] վասն զի B

121 om է A

122 մարմնոյ A յերկրէս] յերկուս A

123 om ահա B

124 om ապա A է + ապա B մարմնոյն> pag. mut. B եղեղոյ ...
անգոսնէք non pot. leg. pag. mut. B

125 զԱրիանոսն B

126 զՏէրն ... ձեզ non pot. leg. pag. mut. B

127 <ստացուածոյ> pag. mut. B <ամպարչտութիւն> pag. mut. B

128 <անկայք ասելով> pag. mut. B om և ի ջիւս B

129 բնութիւն> pag. mut. B յեղափոխել] փոփոխել A <յեղափոխեալ B
այլայլել B

լայլել յիւրմէ բնութենէն. քանզի ժամ է ձեզ յայտնա- 130
պէս՝ ասել յերկրէս զնա գոլ, վասն զի յերկրէս է ոսկե-
րաց և բովանդակ մարմնոյս բնութիւն: Իսկ ապա ո՞վ
այսչափ անդգամ, իբրեւ զի և ընդ ինքեան մարտնչե-
լով, վասն զի միասնական ասել զբան մարմնոյն այլ առ 135
այլ նշանակէ. իսկ ի մարմին փոփոխել նորին բանին
փոփոխումն երեւութեալ: Եւ ո՞վ ապա ձեզ անսայցէ,
միայն և ճառելով զայսքան և զբոլոր հերձուածս առա-
ւել յամբարշտութիւնս խոտորեցայք. զի եթէ միասնա-
կան է բանն մարմնոյն, աւելի է Մարիամայ յիշատակ 140
և պէտք, կարելի եղեալ և յառաջ քան զՄարիամ գոլ
մարմնոյն, որդունակ գոյ և բանն: Եթէ բնաւ ըստ ձեզ
միասնական է մարմնոյն, զի՞ իսկ բնաւ պէտք էին բանին
զալստեան, զի զինքեան միասնական զգեցցի կամ փո-
փոխեալ յիւրմէ բնութենէն մարմին լի[նի]ցի. զի ոչ է 145
թէ զինքն աստուածութիւնն առնու, իբրեւ զինքեան մի-
ասնական զգեցցի. քանզի ոչինչ մեղաւոր այլոց մեղաց
փրկութիւն եղեալ բանն, զի ի մարմին փոփոխեալ՝
զինքն յաղագս իւր մատուցէ պատարագ և փրկեսցէ
զինքն:

5. Այլ ոչ է այսպէս, քաւ և մի՛ լիցի, քանզի «զգա- 150
ւակէն Արբահամու բու[ւ]ն հարկանէ», որպէս ասաց
առաքեալ, ուստի պարտ էր ըստ ամենայնի եղբարց
նմանել և առնուլ զնմանն մեր մարմին: Վասն այսորիկ
ապա ճշմարտապէս յորջորջեցաւ Մարիամ, զի ի նմանէ
զայս առցէ, որպէս զի իւր ինքեան յաղագս մեր զնա 155
մատուցէ. ուստի վասն այսորիկ մարգարէացաւ Ե-
սայիաս ասելովն, «ահա կոյս յղացի և ծնցի որդի» և

131 վասն զի յերկրէս pag. mut. B

132 մարմնոյս> pag. mut. B <բնութիւն> pag. mut. B <իսկ> pag. mut. B
ով + է A

133 <մարտնչելով> pag. mut. B 137 բոլոր A

138 յամբարշտութիւն (sic) A

143 զինքեանս B կամ] այլ A

144 բնութենէ B է թէ զինքն] էր և զի ինքն A

146 այլոցս A om մեղաց A 147 ի supra lin. B

150 <այսպէս> pag. mut. B 151 Արբահամէ B

155 որպէս] որ B

156 ուստի վասն այսորիկ մարգարեաց>աւ pag. mut. B

157 ասելով A յղ<ասցի> pag. mut. B <և ծնցի որդի> pag. mut. B

Գարբրիէլ առաքեցաւ առ նա, ոչ որպէս առ սոսկ կոյս՝
այլ խօսեալ առն, զի և առ ի խօսմանէն ցուցցէ զՄար-
իամ ճշմարտապէս մարդ ել. և զծնունդն յիշատակելով 160
զրոյց և ասելով՝ Թէ պատեաց ի խանձարուրս և երանէին
ստինքն որով կաթնասուն եղեւ և մատուցաւ պատա-
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190 չոգաւ A

191 նորում] նոր B

193 om և B

195 զբանն B բեւեռեալ post մարմինն B

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216 ասելով A 219 om և A

221 բոլոր B մարմնոյս B փրկութեան A

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 անմահ ի բնութենէն լինել զայս. զի եթէ ոչ էր մեռեալ, 270
 որպէս իսկ և Պօղոս աւանդէր Կորնթացւոցն, զոր և
 ընկալաւն՝ եթէ Քրիստոս մեռաւ ըստ գրոց վասն մե-
 ղաց մերոց. կամ զիա՞րդ իսկ բնաւ յարեաւ, եթէ ոչ
 յառաջ է մեռեալ: Պատկառեցցեն յոյժ և որք զմտաւ
 ածին յանդգնեալք, կարող գոլ փոխանակ երրորդու- 275
 թեանն չորրորդութիւն, եթէ ի Մարիամայ զմարմինն

244 չրջել A B

251 ի յոսկերս (sic) A

253 ասացեալ A

256 om և .. անէծք B

260 ասացելոյն B

267 զմարդկայինն A

274 է] էր B պատկարեցան B

247 զցոյցս] զյոյս B

252 Յովհաննէս B

255 om եթէ B

259 մեր յաղազս A

264 om զմիտս B

273 om իսկ B

ասացեալք՝ զի եթէ միասնական ասեմք, ասեն, զմարմինն բանին, մնայ երրորդութիւնն երրորդութիւն, ոչինչ օտար ի ներքս ածելով բանին: Իսկ ապա եթէ զմարդկային ասեմք զառ ի Մարիամայ զմարմինն 280
հարկէ, օտար եղելոյ ըստ բնութեան մարմնոյն և գոյով ի նմա բանին, չորրորդութիւն փոխանակ երրորդութեան լինել յաղագս մարմնոյն յաւելուածոյ:

9. Եւ զայս այսպէս ասելով ոչ իմանան՝ եթէ զինքեանս լինին զրկեալք, զի թէպէտ եւ ոչ ի Մարիամայ 285
ասեն զմարմինն այլ միասնական նոյն ինքն բանին. ոչինչ նուազ, որպէս ունին իսկ ստուգեալ ի միտս իւրեանց, մի արդեօք որպէս խորհելովն այնպէս կարծեսցին, այլ ըստ իւրեանց մտացն ցուցեալք լինին ասել չորրորդութիւն: Քանզի զոր օրինակ որդի ըստ հարցն 290
միասնական ելով հօր, ոչ ինքն է հայր այլ որդի առ հայր ասի միասնական, այսպէս միասնական մարմին բանին ոչ ինքեան բանին է, այլ առ բանն ասի և այլոյ ելով է ըստ նոցա երրորդութիւնն չորրորդութիւն: Քանզի ոչ եթէ ճշմարիտ էն կատարեալ և անբաժանելին 295
երրորդութիւնն ընդունի յաւելուած, այլ ի դոցանէ իմացեալն և զիա՞րդ ապա տակաւին Քրիստոնեայք կամիցին կոչել, այլ քան զէն Աստուած իմանալով: Դարձեալ և <ի> այլ նոցա միտս զանզգամութիւնն է տեսանել, զի եթէ սակս լինելոյն և ասելոյ ի գիրս առ ի Մարիամայ զոյ և մարդկային զմարմինն Փրկչին իմանան փոխանակ երրորդութեանն ասել չորրորդութիւն, որպէս յաւելուած եղելոյ մարմնոյն, յոյժ մոլորին, հաւասարեցուցանելով զարարածս արարչին: Եւ զմտաւ ածեալք զկարել աստուածութեանն զյաւելուած ընդունել, ոչ գիտացին՝ թէ ոչ սակս յաւելուածոյ յաստուածութիւն եղեւ բանն մարմին, այլ զի ի վեր առեալ նորա գործեսցէ զմարմինն, եւ ոչ դարձեալ զի պայծառասցի 300
305

276 զի եթէ ի A

279 ի ներքս post բանին B

283 յաւելուածոց A

288 արդեօք] արդեւք B

294 երրորդութիւն A

299 om նոցա B

305 ածեալք] ածել B

277 om զի post ասացեալք A

280 զմարմին A 281 հարկէ] յերկրէ A

284 զինքեանս] ինքեանք A

289 լիցին B

297 om Քրիստոնեայք B

301 զմարմին A

բանն յառաջ եկն ի Մարիամայ, այլ զի մարդկայինս ազգս փրկեսցէ:

310

Ո՞րպէս ապա կարծեն զ'ի ձեռն բանին փրկեալ զմարմինն և կենդանացեալ յաւելուած յաստուածութիւն բանին առնել. մանաւանդ եթէ նոյն իսկ մարդկութեանս մեծ յաւելուած եղեւ բանին որ առ նա հաղորդութիւն և միաւորութիւն, քանզի ի մահկանացուէս եղեւ անմահ և շնչաւոր գոլով՝ եղեւ հոգեւոր, և յերկրէս եղեալ՝ ընդ երկնայն ի վեր ել գրունս: Իսկ արդ երրորդութիւն, և առնելով բանին զմարմինն ի Մարիամայ, է երրորդութիւն, և ոչ յաւելուած ընդունելով և ոչ բարձունս ինչ. այլ միշտ կատարեալ է և յերրորդութեանն մի աստուածութիւն ճանաչի և այսպէս յեկեղեցւոյ մի Աստուած քարոզի հայր բանին:

315

320

10. Իսկ ապա աստուատ լուեալ ղաղարեսցեն այսուհետեւ որք երբեմն ասէինն՝ զառ ի Մարիամայն յառաջեկեալ ոչ գոլ զնա Քրիստոս, Տէր և Աստուած: Զի եթէ ոչ Աստուած էր ի մարմնին, զիա՞րդ իսկ և իսկ յառաջեկեալ ի Մարիամայ կոչեցաւ էմմանուէլ, որ թարգմանեալ՝ ընդ մեզ Աստուած: Եւ կամ ո՞րպէս իսկ և Պօղոս, զի եթէ ոչ բանն էր ի մարմնին, Հովմայեցւոցն գրէր ասելով՝ յորոց և Քրիստոս ըստ մարմնոյ, որ է ի վերայ ամենեցուն Աստուած օրհնեալ յաւիտեանս ամէն: Խոստովանեսցին ապա և որոց յառաջագոյն ուրացեալ զխաչեալն զոլ Աստուած վրիպել, հաւանելով բոլորից աստուածաշունչ գրոց և մանաւանդ Թովմասու յետ տեսանելոյն ի նմա զնշանս բեւեռացն ասելով՝ Տէր իմ և Աստուած իմ: Քանզի Աստուած և Տէր փառաց գոլով՝ որդի գոյր յանարգութեան և յան-

325

330

335

308 զմարմին B

309 զմարդկային A

311 փրկել B

314 առ նա] առն A

հաղորդութեան և միաւորութեան A

317 երկնայն] երկինն A

318 առնելով (sic) B

320 om ինչ A յերրորդութեան A

322 բանին A

323 լուեալ B

324 ասելին A Մարիամայ A

325 om ոչ գոլ ... յառաջեկեալ A

329 բան A էր ante բանն B

մարմնին] մարմին B մարմին + ոչ B

հրոմայեցւոցն B

331 յաւիտեան B

332 om ամէն B խոստովանեցան A

333 վրիպեալ A

334 om բոլորից A

335 տեսանելոյ B նմա] նա A

պատուութեան բեւեռեալ ի խաչին և մարմինն չար-
 չարիւր ձգեալ ի վերայ փայտի. ուստի և ստորաթոր-
 եալ իջանէր ի կողից նորա արիւն և ջուր, տաճար բանին 340
 գոլով լցեալ աստուածութեամբն: Վասն այսորիկ և
 արեգակն իբրեւ ետես զարարիչն իւր թշնամանեալ ի
 մարմնին, ոչ համբերեալ, զճառագայթսն յինքն զըս-
 պեաց՝ առնելով խաւար ի վերայ երկրի. և նոյն ինքն
 մարմինն ունելով բնութիւն մահկանացու՝ յարեաւ ի 345
 վեր քան զբնութիւն մահկանացու ի ձեռն որ ի նմա
 բանին և հանգեաւ յառ ըստ բնութեանն ապականու-
 թենէ, վասն զի զգենլով զ'ի վեր քան <մարդ> զբանն՝
 եղեւ անապական:

11. Իսկ յաղաքս դանդաչելոյն ոմանց և ասելոյն՝ 350
 թէ որպէս առ իւրաքանչիւր ոք ի մարգարէսն եղեալ
 բանն, նոյնգունակ որպէս ի միոյ ուրուք ի մարդկանէ ի
 Մարիամայ եկն բանն, աւելի է մերկացուցանել ինչ՝
 յայտնի ունելով զանմտութեանն նոցա ըստգտեանս: Զի
 եթէ նոյնպէս եկն՝ յո՞ր սակս ի կուսէն, այլ ոչ և նա 355
 յառնէ և ի կնոջէ. քանզի այսպէս և իւրաքանչիւր ոք
 ի սրբոցն ծնաւ: Կամ էր վասն այսպէս եկեալ բանին՝
 իւրաքանչիւր ուրուք նոցա մահ ոչ ասի վասն մեր եղ-
 եալ՝ այլ միայն սորայս: Կամ հի՞մ իւրաքանչիւր ու-
 րուք գալով մարգարէիցն՝ բանին միայն ասի գալուստ, 360
 վասն զի միայն որ առ ի Մարիամայն որպէս միանգամ
 ի վախճան յաւիտեանցն եկեալ: Կամ յո՞ր սակս այն-
 պէս գալով նորա, որպէս եկն յառաջին սուրբսն, ամե-
 նեցունցն այլոցն մեռեալք՝ ոչ ևս յարեան, իսկ որ առ ի
 Մարիամայն՝ նա միայն յարեաւ յերրորդ աւուր: Կամ 365
 է՞ր վասն զի թէ ըստ նմանութեան այլոցն եկն բանն՝
 ասի նմա միայն որ ի Մարիամայն էմմանուէլ, որպէս
 մարմնոյն լռութեամբ աստուածութեանն ծնեալ ի նը-
 մանէ. քանզի էմմանուէլ թարգմանի՝ ընդ մեզ Աստ-
 ուած: Կամ է՞ր վասն <զի>, եթէ նոյնգունակ եկն, իւ- 370

342 իւր + ի B

345 om մահկանացու A

354 զանմութեան A

358 om նոցա B

364 om այլոցն B om առ A

369 թարգմանի բարբժանի (sic) A

343 ինքն B

348 զ'ի] ի B զբան A

355 կուսէ A

363 ամենեցունց A

365 նա] նմա A

րաքանչիւր ոք ի մարգարէիցն ուտելով և ըմպելով և վաստակելով և մեռանելով՝ ոչ ասի նոյնպէս ուտել և ըմպել և վաստակել և մեռանել. այլ միայն յայսր վերայ որ առ ի Մարիամայն: Քանզի զոր ինչ մարմինն նորա չարչարեցաւ, զայս որպէս իւր ինքեան ասի չարչարել, և այլոցն ամենեցունց ասացելոցն՝ թէ ծնան և եղեն. իսկ որ ի Մարիամայն միայն յաղագս նորա ասի՝ եթէ բանն մարմին եղեւ:

12. Ուստի ցուցեալ թէ յայլսն ամենեսին յաղագս մարգարէանալոյն լինէր բանն. իսկ ի Մարիամայն նոյն ինքն բանին մարմին առնելով՝ յառաջ եկն երեւեալ մարդ, բնութեամբ և էութեամբ բան գոյով Աստուծոյ, իսկ ըստ մարմնոյ ի զաւակէ Դաւթի և ի մարմնոյ Մարիամայ եղեալ մարդ, որպէս ասաց Պօղոս: Զսա հայր եցոյց ի հոսանսն Յորդանանու և ի լերինն ասելով, «դա է որդի իմ սիրելի ընդ որ հաճեցայ»: Զայս Արիանոսը ուրանան իսկ մեր ծանուցեալ երկրպագեմք, ոչ բաժանելով զորդի և զբանն այլ զնոյն ինքն բանն գիտացեալ զոլ որդի, որով ամենայն եղեւ և մեք փրկեցաք. վասն որոյ զարմացաք թէ զի իսկ բնաւ ի ձեզ յաղագս այսպիսի յայտնի և երեւելի իրաց եղեւ բանակրութիւն: Այլ շնորհք Աստուծոյ, զի որչափ տրտմեցաք հանդիպեալք զրեցելոցն, նոյնչափ ուրախացաք ի վերայ կատարման սոցա. քանզի հանդերձ միաբանութեամբ յուղարկեցան խաղաղացեալք ի վերայ խոստովանութեան բարեպաշտ և ուղղափառ հաւատոյս: Զայս ահա և իմ յոյժ յառաջագոյն զմտաւ ածեալ հաւանեցայ գրել ըզսակաւս խոկացեալ, մի՛ գուցէ առ ի լուութենէ փոխանակ ուրախութեան լիցի տրտմութիւն որոց ի միաբանութենէն զպատճառս ուրախութեանն ընձեռեն մեզ: Աղաչեմ այսուհետեւ նախ և առաջին զքո երկիւղածու-

373 յայձր B

374 om առ B

մարմին A

375 ասէ A

376 այլոց A

379 յայլսն] առ այսն B

ամենեսան B

380 Մարիամայ A

382 գալ B

385 դա] դայ (sic) B

386 դայ] դապա (sic) B

389 գուով B

391 բանակրութիւն (sic) A

392 յԱստուծոյ A

տրտմեցաք]

տրտմեցելոյն B

om հանդիպեալք գրեցելոցն B

399 տրտմութիւն in marg. A

397 հաւանեցոյց B

400 ընձեռին A

Թիւնդ և երկրորդ անգամ զլսողսն այսոցիկ հանդերձ
բարի գիտակցութեամբ ընդունել զայսոսիկ, և եթէ ինչ
պակաս գտցի առ ի լրումն բարեպաշտութեանն՝ զայն 405
ուղղել և ծանուցանել ինձ. իսկ ապա եթէ որպէս ըստ
տգէտ եղելոյ բանի կամ կատարելապէս գրել՝ Թողու-
թիւն առնել ամենեցունց մերոց յաղագս ասացեալ տը-
կարութեան: Ողջոյն տուր ամենայն եղբարց սրբոց ի
Տէր, ամէն:

401 երկեղածութիւնդ B

403 om բարի B

406 բան ա կամ (sic) B

402 զլսողդ այդոցիկ A

405 om ըստ A

409 om ամէն B

COLLATION OF ARMENIAN WITH GREEK (LUDWIG'S EDITION)

Title: Of the same St. Athanasius to Epictetus, bishop of the Corinthians, concerning the orthodox faith, a refutation of those who have risen against the truly holy faith.

Ludwig p. 3.1 μέν] 'thus,' probably no more than an emphatic rendering of μέν. Tajezi agrees.

3.1 ματαιολογίαν] plural, so Tajezi

2 συνόδου] 'great synod,' so Tajezi, 'holy synod' Syriac

4 ἐστὶ] 'was'

4 ἀσεβείας] plural, cf. 3.1, similarly Tajezi

6 διαφόρων γενομένων συνόδων] 'synods occurred in different places.'

Tajezi similarly, եղեն և յայլ ի բազում տեղիս ժողովք, but neither implies an underlying Greek variant.

6 om τε

8 δὴ] և, probably from δὲ λέγω E but is unfortunate in the Armenian since it separates grammatically զՄեղիողանացիս from Օքսէնտիոս; cf. Tajezi զԱլեքսենտեայ ասեմ զՄեղիողիենացւոյ.

9 Οὐάλεντα] 'Valentinus,' Tajezi Վաղենտեսիս

9 Παννονίας] Both Armenian versions and the Syriac agree in reading 'Spain' for Pannonia.

14 om τότε

14 συνήχθη] եղեւ ἐγένετο (?)

- 3.14 τοίνυν ἔτι] *ωωω* 'then,' possibly agreeing with R which omits ἔτι or with BVqMEA which read οὖν and omit ἔτι, though *ωωω* is a weak rendering of οὖν.
- 16 εἰ] *բանղի* 'for'
- 17 Ἑλληνες] Both Armenian versions and the Syriac translate by 'Pagans'.
- 17 ἀκούοντες + 'from us'
- 17 χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου
- 18 ἡγοῦνται] imperfect
- 18 om θείου with q
- 4.5 om ἡ
- 6 om δέ
- 8 ἡκουσε] present as in Tajezi
- 8 πῶποτε ἡ with BVqMEASL and Tajezi
- 9-10 ἐκ . . . Ἱερουσαλὴμ] literally 'for the Law, it says, out of Sion will come and a word of the Lord out of Jerusalem.' The order is curiously at variance with the Greek which is more closely followed by Tajezi *ղի մեք գիտեմք զգրեալս՝ որ ասէ . «ի Սիոնէ ելցեն օրէնք և բան Տեառն յերուսաղէմէ .»* The *ասէ* of the Vienna text is, like *ղի մեք . . . ասէ* of Tajezi, an addition of the translator, but the text of the quotation in both versions doubtless renders the form found in LS Theod νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου.
- 10 ταῦτα] 'this fire of bitterness', cf. Tajezi *այս հուր բարկութեան*
- 10 ἡ ποῖος with NS Leont. Tajezi, cf. 4.8
- 13 ἡκουσεν] present, cf. 4.8
- 17 ἐν ξύλῳ] *ի փայտին*, possibly ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ with Ep; Tajezi *ի խաչին*
- 17 om αὐτῇ
- 5.2 ὁ λόγος] 'the word of God,' the addition may equally well have arisen in the Armenian or in the underlying Greek but is unsupported by other evidence.
- 2.3 εἴποι . . . ταῦτα] The Armenian translator appears to have lost the thread of his sentence and, forgetting that he has left a dependent clause suspended in mid-air, concludes 'or who is a Christian to say this?'
- 7 om ἐκ Μαρίας with S
- 8 om δέ
- 8 ἴσην . . . προειρημένους] The order in the Armenian is *ἴσην τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀσέβειαν* but may be only the translator's caprice.

5. 10 αὐτῷ] The Armenian repeats 'the body'.
 10 γεγενῆσθαι] The Armenian repeats the infinitive.
 12 om μέν
 12 τῇ οὐσίᾳ καὶ φύσει] ῥῆσιθῶσρ և ζῆσιθῶσρ, probably τῇ φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, although precision in the use of these terms is not always observed. Usually ῥῆσιθῆν translates φύσις, though it sometimes renders οὐσία; ζῆσιθῆν can properly render only οὐσία. In the present passage Tajezi's version reads ըստ ῥῆσιθեան (< և > ζῆσιθեան but at Ludwig 17.19 the Vienna text renders τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ by ῥῆσιθῶσρ և ζῆσιθῶσρ, while Tajezi reads ըստ ῥῆσιθեան և ըստ ζῆσιθեան. S omits οὐσία and not, as Ludwig says, φύσει.
 13 ἐστι post Δαβίδ
 13 δέ] Both Armenian versions omit δέ but repeat the preposition.
 14 om δέ
 15 παθόντα καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον] ἐσταυρωμένον καὶ παθόντα
 18 καί] ἀλλά
 19 τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον] τοῦ θεοῦ νῖδον καὶ λόγον. ORNCPQ Ep and Tajezi read τοῦ θεοῦ νῖδον, the remaining Greek authorities supported by the Latin read τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον. The Syriac reads simply λόγον, omitting τοῦ θεοῦ, though this is not noted by Ludwig.
 6. 1 καὶ ἄλλον εἶναι with ORNEp
 3 ταῦτα] 'all this'
 3 om δέ
 4 om δύναμιν with ORNCPOEp (not S)
 4 καὶ διὰ, but joining two sentences in this way is not an uncommon caprice of Oriental translators.
 6 ἐθαύμασα] 'greatly wondered'
 8 ἥ post ἀκούσαντες
 11 om ἐστιν with BVqMEACP. (The reading of A ζ post ορῆνῶσρ must be secondary.)
 11 ἐκείνων] τοιούτων
 11-12 om ὥς εἴρηται
 12 γυμνῶς πεποίηκα ἐγγραφῆναι with Ep
 15 πλεον τούτου
 16 ἐπὶ πλεῖον γυμνάζειν
 17 om ὥς
 18 ἢ τοῦτο μόνον] 'but only this'
 19 τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας] The mss. read a nominative erroneously.
 20 αἰσχυντον] αἰσχυντίας with ACP Theor

7.1-2 ὀλίγα ante ἐκ τῶν

4 ἐπῆλθεν] 'is', doubtless in agreement with ORN which omit ἐπῆλθεν.

7 τῶν + θείων with CPQBVqMEA Theor

8 om γάρ with M

8 ἐν Νικαίᾳ post συνελθόντες

9 om αὐτόν

9 τοῦτον] *զիսիս* αὐτόν (?)

9 τοῦτον μέν] The Armenian repeats 'they said'.

10 ὡμολόγησαν] 'they said'

11 ἢ] 'but'

12 om καί ante ὡς with Ep a

13 καὶ γὰρ καὶ] The Armenian reads merely 'for,' translating neither καί.

14 ἔξεστιν] ἐστιν

15 possibly ὁμοούσιος δέ καὶ

15 λόγος] The Armenian adds 'is'.

16 ὁμοούσιος] The Armenian adds 'then in some way'.

18 υἱόν] κύριον

18 om καί

20 om καὶ τρίχας

20 ὅλον σῶμα] 'The whole nature of the body'; similarly Tajezi
ի բոլորակալ բնութիւն մարմնոյ.

8.1 φανερώς εἰπεῖν with CPQ

2 γάρ] The Armenian adds 'is'.

6 om λοιπόν

10 om ἀϊδίως

10 om οὖν

10 om αὐτός

11 τοῦ λόγου τῆς ἐπιδημίας

11 om ἢ with Theor

13 om καί

14 ἀλλ' οὐδέ] 'for not at all'

15 εἰς σῶμα τραπεῖς

15-16 The Armenian translates in the order *προσενέγκη θυσίαν καὶ
λυτρῶσθαι ἐαυτόν.*

19 om καί

20 ὑπόκειται ἀληθῶς] 'was truly called.' This reading does not make particularly good sense, as there is nothing in what follows to explain the name Mary. Tajezi's version gives a better meaning, *լիսն այսորիկ և անուանէ ճշմարտութեամբ*

զկոյսն Մարիամ՝ մայր, զի ի նմանէ զմերոյ բնութեան
զմարմինն առջէ, 'and, therefore, he rightly calls the Virgin
Mary "mother", for he took from her the body of our nature'.
The most likely explanation appears to be that the original
Armenian translator or his Greek ms. misread καλεῖται
for ὑπόκειται and that Tajezi's version attempted to improve
the sense by paraphrase. This, however, can only apply if
Tajezi's version is dependent on the Vienna text.

- 21 καὶ ταύτην] 'whence on this account'
- 21-9.1 προφητεύων ἐδείκνυε] 'prophesied'
- 9.1 παρθένος + ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν. S completes the quota-
tion, 'and shall call his name Emmanuel'.
- 1 ἀποστέλλεται] The Armenian has an aorist.
- 2 οὐχ ἀπλῶς] Both Armenian versions appear to have read ὡς
after ἀπλῶς; cf. Tajezi որպէս արտաբերուս ի կուսէն.
- 2 om πρὸς παρθένον with P
- 2-3 ἀνδρὶ μεμνηστευμένην
- 6-7 γνωρίσματα ante τικτούσης
- 7 ἀσφαλῶς] 'prophetically' but this may be an error for
ἡκριζήτως, 'accurately' which is found in Tajezi.
- 10 om εἶναι
- 11 καί] 'and again'
- 14 om καί ante ἤνυξσε
- 17-18 τοῦ . . . γραφόντος] 'and again Paul'
- 21 λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ
- 21 ἦν] 'is'
- 21 om αὐτός
- 22 om καί
- 10.1 δ + καί
- 2 om γάρ
- 4 ἐπορεύθη] οὐκ ἐπορεύθη
- 4 δέ] γάρ
- 5 ἐν τῷ Γολγοθᾷ] ἐν νεφῷ μνημείῳ αὐτοῦ; cf. Tajezi ի նոր գերեզմանի
ի Գողգոթայ, ἐν νεφῷ μνημείῳ ἐν Γολγοθᾷ
- 6 om ἀλλὰ . . . λόγου
- 6 Θωμᾶς post νεκρῶν
- 8 om καί, but the sentence has been recast in the Armenian.
- 9 σώματος + αὐτοῦ
- 10 ἀμέλει + καί
- 13 ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπτυσμάτων with BVqMEACPQL
- 13 τὸ ἀνθρώπινον] τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα

- 10.13-14 τὸ ἀνθρώπινον . . . λόγου] There is considerable minor variation in the text here but our version appears to go with A τὸ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ἔπασχε τοῦ λόγου. CPQ read τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἔπασχε σῶμα, while the Syriac appears to presuppose τὸ σῶμα τοῦ λόγου ἔπασχε.
- 15 παράδοξον] 'extremely remarkable'
- 11.1 τὰς ἀσθενείας] The Armenian has the singular.
- 7 om ὄντως, probably omitted as redundant by the translator.
- 9 φαντασία + μόνον
- 11 ἀσεβέστατον] ἀσέβειαν
- 11 om μὴν
- 11 οὐ + 'was.' The addition is almost certainly the translator's; otherwise the Greek would read ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν φαντασία κτλ.
- 13 om ἐν with MCPQ
- 15 om ἦν post δέ
- 15 ἐπειδὴ . . . ἡμετέρῳ] 'since it was ours'
- 12.2 μὴ + 'the same'
- 4 om μου . . . ἡλων
- 4 ἐγὼ εἰμι αὐτός] ἐγὼ αὐτός εἰμι
- 7 om πάλιν
- 8 εἰπεῖν] The mss. omit 'to say' but it should probably be supplied, cf. Armenian apparatus.
- 12 ἔτι] ἐστι with CPQAN
- 16-17 The Armenian adds 'and' after γάρ, before ταύτην, and before καθώς.
- 18 δυνατόν] ἐστι
- 18 om γάρ
- 20 γεγονέναι κατὰ
- 13.2 om καὶ ante γέγονε with CP
- 2 σάρξ] ἄνθρωπος
- 3 om ἴσον . . . γέγονε. The translator's Greek may have read ἐγένετο for γέγονε 13.3, making an omission by homoioteleuton
- 5 ἕως] καί
- 5 ἀλλ' . . . ἐστιν] ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰς ἀνθρώπους, Tajezi and the Syriac read similarly.
- 7 εἰκότως + δέ
- 10 γεγενῆσθαι] 'to be'
- 13 κατὰ τὰς γραφάς ante ὑπέρ
- 13 ἢ πῶς
- 14 om δέ ante μεγάλως

- 13.15 om γίνεσθαι
 16 om εἶναι
 17 εἰπωμεν φασίν with BVqMEA
 14.3 γίνεσθαι with RN
 6 om ἥ with ORNCPQEp Theor
 6-7 μὴ ἄρα . . . τετράδα. The Armenian modifies the construction slightly but does not appear to have a variant text.
 10 αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος] The Armenian mss. reads a genitive, which is clearly wrong. The error may be an itacism of their archetype or an error of the translator's, — probably the former.
 11 The Armenian repeats 'is said' after λόγον.
 11 om αὐτῶν
 12 om καί
 13 Χριστιανοί + 'did they wish to be called'
 15 ἔξεστιν] ἐστιν
 15.1 διὰ τὸ σῶμα] τῷ σώματι
 3 om καί
 4 οὐδὲ πάλιν
 7 om ζωοποιήσαντι with ORCPQS Theor
 7 γάρ] δέ
 8 om σώματι with ORNCPQS Theor Ep Eustath Tajezi
 8 μεγάλη προσθήκη
 12 οὐδὲ δεχομένη
 16 om αὐτόν
 16 om καί ante κύριον
 16.2 ἐξ ὧν + καί
 4 πειθόμενοι + πάσαις
 7-8 ἦν . . . σώματι] 'was unjustly and irreverently nailed to the cross'
 9 om δέ
 11 ἀνεχόμενον] οὐ πασχόμενον
 13 ἐαυτοῦ] θνητὴν
 17 ἐγίνετο + ὁ λόγος
 19 om οὗτος
 17.4 λέγεται + ἐπιδημία
 6 διὰ τί + οὕτως with ORNCPQEp
 12 ἀγίων] προφήτῶν with BVqMEA
 13 ἐσθίων + καὶ πίνων
 14 αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα with OR. The order of the Armenian is actually σῶμα αὐτοῦ, but this is probably due to the translator.
 16 καί] ὅτι

17.22 om καί

24 ἐπιγινώσκοντες] ἐπαγγέλλοντες

18.10-11 ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως

14 μετὰ σοῦ] ἐν κυρίῳ

14 ἀδελφούς + ἀγίους ἀμήν

15-16 om σέ . . . ποθεινότατε

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